

H. S. L. B.

NIL ADMIRARI.

A

LETTER

TO

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

II.

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Present State of the Nation.

III.

A

LETTER to Mr. POPE.

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

LONDON,
Printed for A. MILLAR.
MDCCLIII.

A

LETTER

TO

Sir William Windham.

I WAS well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them; and was far from imagining it possible that I should be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly censured by the greatest part of the other

half. As ſoon as I was ſeparated from the pretender and his intereſt, I declared myſelf to be ſo; and I gave directions for writing into England what I judged ſufficient to put my friends on their guard againſt any ſurpriſe concerning an event, which it was their intereſt, as well as mine, that they ſhould be very rightly informed about.

As ſoon as the pretender's adherents began to clamor againſt me in this country, and to diſperſe their ſcandal by circular letters every where elſe, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundleſs articles of accuſation were refuted, and enough was ſaid to give my friends

friends a general idea of what had happened to me, and at leaſt to make them ſuſpend the fixing any opinion till ſuch time as I ſhould be able to write more fully and plainly to them myſelf. To condemn no perſon unheard is a rule of natural equity, which we ſee rarely violated in Turky, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be ſo with me in Great Britain, I confeſs that I flattered myſelf. I dwelt ſecurely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of thoſe ſcurrilous methods, which were taken about this time to blaſt my reputation. The event of things has ſhewn, that I truſted too much to my own innocence, and to the juſtice of my old friends.

It was obvious, that the chevalier and the earl of Mar hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect: it was indifferent to them of which. If they could ascribe to one of those their not being supported from France, they imagined that they should justify their precipitate flight from Scotland, which many of their fastest friends exclaimed against; and that they should varnish over that original capital fault, the drawing the Highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

The Scotch, who fell at once from all the sanguine expectations

with

with which they had been ſoothed, and who found themſelves reduced to deſpair; were eaſy to be incenſed: they had received no ſupport whatever, and it was natural for them rather to believe that they failed of this ſupport by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to riſe in the very point of time when it was impoſſible that they ſhould be ſupported from France, or from any other part of the world. The duke of ORMOND, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humor with the general turn of affairs to be eaſily ſet againſt any particular man. The emiſſaries of this court, whoſe commiſſion was to amuſe, had

imposed upon him all along; and there were other busy people who thought to find their account in having him to themselves. I had never been in his secret whilst we were in England together: and from his first coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I shewed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting separately, to act against me.

THE whole tribe of irish and other papists were ready to seize the first opportunity of venting their spleen against a man, who had constantly avoided all intimacy

macy with them; who acted in the ſame cauſe, but on a different principle, and who meant no one thing in the world leſs, than raiſing them to the advantages which they expected.

THAT theſe ſeveral perſons, for the reaſons I have mentioned, ſhould join in a cry againſt me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be ſo to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the engliſh tories ſhould ſerve as echos to them, nay more, that my character ſhould continue doubtful at beſt amongſt you, when thoſe who firſt propagated the ſlander are become aſhamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamor,

this

this I own that I never expected: and I may be allowed to say, that as it is an extreme surprise, so it shall be a lesson to me.

The whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther —at least, in my way of thinking, that step was more cruel than all the others—by a partial representation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it best suited their purpose, and published to the whole world, they did all that in them lay to expose me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deserved this abundantly in their hands, according to the notions of party-justice. The

tories

tories have not indeed impeach-ed nor attainted me; but they have done, and are ſtill doing ſomething very like to that which I took worſe of the whigs, than the impeachment and at-tainder: and this, after I have ſhewn an inviolable attachment to the ſervice, and almoſt an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actu-ally an out-law, deprived of my honors, ſtripped of my for-tune, and cut off from my fa-mily and my country, for their ſakes.

Some of the perſons who have ſeen me here, and with whom I have had the pleaſure to talk of you, may, perhaps, have told

told you, that, far from being oppreſſed by that ſtorm of miſ-fortunes in which I have been toſſ-ed of late, I bear up againſt it with firmneſs enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do ſo: but it is true likewiſe, that the laſt burſt of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me. From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every ſort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we ſometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandon us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occaſion where we ſtand the moſt in need of their ſupport, and have the beſt title to it, the firmeſt mind finds it hard to reſiſt.

NOTHING

NOTHING kept up my ſpirits when I was firſt reduced to the very circumſtances I now deſcribe, ſo much as the conſideration of the deluſions under which I knew that the tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able ſoon to open their eyes, and to juſtify my conduct. I expected that friendſhip, or, if that principle failed, curioſity at leaſt, would move the party to ſend over ſome perſon, from whoſe report they might have both ſides of the queſtion laid before them. Tho this expectation be founded in reaſon; and you want to be informed at leaſt as much as I do to be juſtified, yet I have hitherto flattered my ſelf with it in vain. To repair this miſ-

fortune,

fortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I resolve to put into writing the sum of what I should have said in that case. These papers shall lie by me till time and accidents produce some occasion of communicating them to you. The true occasion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be lost: but they will remain a monument of my justification to posterity. At worst, if even this fails me, I am sure of one satisfaction in writing them; the satisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of stating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it to stand, between the tories and myself. "Quantum humano con-

" filio efficere potui, circum-
" fpectis rebus meis omnibus,
" rationibufque fubductis, fum-
" mam feci cogitationum mea-
" rum omnium, quam tibi, fi
" potero, breviter exponam."

It is neceffary to my defign that I call to your mind the ftate of affairs in Britain, from the latter part of the year one thoufand feven hundred and ten, to the beginning of the year one thoufand feven hundred and fifteen, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, becaufe the part which I acted before that time, in the firft effays I made in public affairs, was the part of a tory, and fo far of a piece with that which I acted

I acted afterwards. Besides, the things which preceded this space of time had no immediate influence on those which happened since that time; whereas the strange events, which we have seen fall out in the king's reign, were owing in a great measure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the last four years of the queen's. The memory of these events being fresh, I shall dwell as little as possible upon them. It will be sufficient that I make a rough sketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the several parties during that time. Your memory will soon furnish the colors which I shall omit to lay, and finish up the picture.

FROM

From the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I served, nor of being able, from time to time, to appeal to their judgment. The groſs of what happened has appeared; but the particular ſteps, which led to thoſe events, have been either concealed or miſrepreſented: concealed from the nature of them, or miſrepreſented by thoſe with whom I never agreed perfectly, except in thinking, that they and I were extremely unfit to continue embarked in the ſame bottom together. It will, therefore, be proper to deſcend, under this head, to a more particular relation.

In the summer of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her ministry. The intrigue of the earl of OXFORD might facilitate the means, the violent prosecution of SACHEVEREL, and other unpopular measures, might create the occasion, and encourage her in the resolution: but the true original cause was the personal ill usage which she received in her private life, and in some trifling instances of the exercise of her power; for indulgence in which she would certainly have left the reins of government in those hands, which had held them ever since her accession to the throne.

I AM.

I AM afraid that we came to court in the same dispositions as all parties have done; that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to us. It is however true, that with these considerations of private and party interest there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at least what we took to be such.

We looked on the political principles, which had generally prevailed in our government from the revolution in one thousand six hundred and eighty eight, to be destructive of our true interest, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing our people, and to the loosening the bands of our constitution in church and state. We supposed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into it's composition. We supposed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill designs of the court under king Charles the second, nursed up into

into ſtrength and applied to contrary uſes by king WILLIAM the third, and yet ſtill ſo weak as to lean for ſupport on the preſbyterians and the other ſectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. From hence we judged it to follow, that they had been forced, and muſt continue ſo, to render the national intereſt ſubſervient to the intereſt of thoſe who lent them an additional ſtrength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of thoſe amongſt us, who thought in this manner, was to improve the queen's favor to break the body of the whigs, to render their ſupports uſe-

leſs to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meaneſt, with tories. We imagined that ſuch meaſures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would ſecure us againſt all attempts during her reign; and that we ſhould ſoon become too conſiderable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterwards: concerning which, to ſpeak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very ſettled reſolution.

In order to bring theſe purpoſes about, I verily think that the perſecution of diſſenters entered into no man's head. By the

the bills, for preventing occasional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their sting would be taken away. These bills were thought necessary for our party interest, and besides were deemed neither unreasonable nor unjust. The good of society may require, that no person should be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters; but it does not follow from hence, that men ought to be trusted in any degree with the preservation of the establishment, who must, to be consistent with their principles, endeavour the subversion of what is established. An indulgence to consciences,

ces, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered ſcrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderneſs of conſcience to come; or to connive at the propagating of theſe prejudices, and at the forming of theſe habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deſerve indulgence; but the evil cauſe is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be intitled to none. Beſides this, the bills I am ſpeaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, ſeemed only to enforce the obſervation of an-
tient

tient laws; which had been judged necessary for the security of the church and state at a time, when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was fresh in the minds of men.

THE bank, the east-india company, and in general the moneyed interest, had certainly nothing to apprehend like what they feared, or affected to fear from the tories, an entire subversion of their property. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by such a blow. The intention of those, who were the warmest, seemed to me to go no farther than restrain-

restraining their influence on the legislature, and on matters of state; and finding at a proper season means to make them contribute to the support and ease of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages so much greater than the rest of their fellow subjects. The mischievous consequence which had been foreseen, and foretold too, at the establishment of those corporations, appeared visibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great expences and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The bank had been extrava-

gant

gant enough to pull off the mask; and, when the queen seemed to intend a change in her ministry, they had deputed some of their members to represent against it. But that which touched sensibly even those who were but little affected by other considerations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the rest of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars bore the whole immense load of the national expences; whilst the lenders of money, who added nothing to the common stock, throve by

by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

As to the allies, I saw no difference of opinion among all those who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the tories as were in the system abovementioned, such of them as deserted soon after from us, and such of the whigs as had upon this occasion deserted to us, seemed equally convinced of the unreasonableness, and even of the impossibility, of continuing the war on the same disproportionate foot. Their universal sense was, that we had taken, except the part of the States General, the whole burden

den of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: that this had appeared very grossly in one thousand seven hundred and nine and one thousand seven hundred and ten, when preliminaries were insisted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greatest loose to their wishes, could desire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: that the war, which had been begun for the security of the allies, was continued for *their grandeur; that the ends proposed, when we engaged in it,* might have been answered long before, and therefore that the first favorable occasion

casion ought to be seised of making peace; which we thought to be the interest of our country, and which appeared to all mankind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

These were in general the views of the tories: and for the part I acted in the prosecution of them, as well as of all the measures accessory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To those, who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain, I may likewise appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular discouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs in their ordinary course lay upon

upon me: the whole negotiation of the peace, and of the troubleſome invidious ſteps preliminary to it, as far as they could be tranſacted at home, were thrown upon me: I continued in the houſe of commons during that important ſeſſion which preceded the peace; and which, by the ſpirit ſhewn through the whole courſe of it, and by the reſolutions taken in it, rendered the concluſion of the treaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the houſe of lords in ſuch a manner; as to make my promotion a puniſhment, not a reward; and was there left to defend the treatics almoſt alone.

It would not have been hard to have forced the earl of Oxford to use me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is, no opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worse perhaps for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of one thousand seven hundred and twelve, that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by

by that. In the houſe of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that aſſembly: they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who ſhews them game, and by whoſe halloo they are uſed to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not ſtand ſtill a moment without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himſelf maſter of the buſineſs, much time would have been loſt, and great inconveniencies would have followed. Some, who oppoſed the court ſoon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I ſhould have wanted no help to do miſ-

chief. I knew the way of quitting my employments and of retiring from court when the service of my party required it: but I could not bring myself up to that resolution, when the consequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the public affairs. I thought my mistress treated me ill: but the sense of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other considerations, and prevailed over my resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are so much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of passing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct;

duct, and you saw me go on as chearfully in the troublesome and dangerous work assigned me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart, to renounce the friendship, which till that time I had preserved inviolable for OXFORD. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen, and every where else. I saw, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an addition of strength to him-

ſelf, it became the object of his jealouſy, and a reaſon for undermining me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was conſummated, and the treaty ſigned at Utrecht: after which a new and more melancholy ſcene for the party, as well as for me, opened itſelf.

I AM far from thinking the treaties, or the negotiations which led to them, exempt from faults. Many were made no doubt in both, by thoſe who were concerned in them; by myſelf in the firſt place: and many were owing purely to the oppoſition they met with in every ſtep of their progreſs. I never look

back

back on this great event, paſſed as it is, without a ſecret emotion of mind; when I compare the vaſtneſs of the undertaking, and the importance of it's ſucceſs, with the means employed to bring it about, and with thoſe which were employed to traverſe it. To adjuſt the pretenſions and to ſettle the intereſts of ſo many princes and ſtates, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when conſidered ſimply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himſelf entitled to raiſe his demands to the moſt extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, firſt, by

the engagements which we had entered into with ſeveral of them, with ſome to draw them into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue it; and, ſecondly, by the manner in which we had treated with France in ſeventeen hundred nine and ten. Thoſe who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method ſo effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to inſiſt on all he could think of, and leaving themſelves at liberty, even if theſe conceſſions ſhould be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the ſecret, I can make no doubt after the con-
ſeſſion

feffion of one of the * plenipotentiaries who tranfacted thefe matters, and who communicated to me and to two others of the queen's minifters an inftance of the duke of MARLBOROUGH'S management at a critical moment, when the french minifters at Gertrudenberg feemed inclinable to come into an expedient for explaining the thirty feventh article of the preliminaries, which could not have been refufed. Certain it is, that the king of FRANCE was at that time in earneft to execute the article of PHILIP'S abdication: and therefore the expedients for adjufting what related to this article would eafily enough have been

* BUYS penfionary of Amfterdam.

 found,

found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no ſuch intention: and the plan of thoſe who meant to prolong the war was eſtabliſhed among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined that they had a right to obtain at leaſt every thing which had been demanded for them reſpectively: and it was viſible that nothing leſs would content them. Theſe conſiderations ſet the vaſtneſs of the undertaking in a ſufficient light.

THE importance of ſucceeding, in the work of the peace, was equally

equally great, to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our persons, to the present age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no degree proportionable. A few men, some of whom had never been concerned in business of this kind before, and most of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timorously, were the instruments of it. The minister who was at their head shewed himself every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehension of different matters, which the first post in such a government as ours

cours requires in quiet times. He was the first spring of all our motion by his credit with the queen, and his concurrence was necessary to every thing we did by his rank in the state: and yet this man seemed to be sometimes asleep, and sometimes at play. He neglected the thread of business; which was carried on for this reason with less dispatch and less advantage in the proper channels: and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and starts, by little tools, and indirect ways: and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce some remarkable instances. No good effect could flow from such a

conduct.

conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their ſeveral provinces drove it forward, tho they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole adminiſtration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too late, till the very end of the negotiations; even in matters, ſuch as that of commerce, which they could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand. That this is a true account of the means uſed to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that adminiſtration in general, I believe the whole cabinet council of that time will bear me witneſs. Sure I am, that moſt of them have joined with me in lamenting this

ſtate

ſtate of things whilſt it ſubſiſted, and all thoſe who were employed as miniſters in the ſeveral parts of the treaty felt ſufficiently the difficulties which this ſtrange management often reduced them to. I am confident they have not forgot them.

If the means employed to bring the peace about were feeble, and in one reſpect contemptible, thoſe employed to break the negotiation were ſtrong and formidable. As ſoon as the firſt ſuſpicion of a treaty's being on foot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obſtruct it. From that hour to the moment the congreſs of Utrecht

trecht finished; no one measure possible to be taken was omitted to traverse every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure, to embarrass every person concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy: and from hence it soon followed, that passion and humor mingled themselves on each side. A great part of what we did for the peace, and of what others did against it, can be accounted for on no other principle. The allies were broke among themselves before they began to treat with the common enemy. The matter did not mend in the course of the treaty: and France and Spain, but

but especially the former profit-
ed of this disunion.

Whoever makes the comparison, which I have touched upon, will see the true reasons which rendered the peace less answerable to the success of the war, than it might, and than it ought to have been. Judgment has been passed in this case, as the different passions or interests of men have inspired them. But the real cause lay in the constitution of our ministry, and much more in the obstinate opposition which we met with from the whigs and from the allies. However, sure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occasion the defections from the

the tory party, which happened about this time, nor those disorders in the court which immediately followed.

LONG before the purport of the treaties could be known, those whigs, who had set out with us in seventeen hundred and ten, began to relapse back to their party. They had among us shared the harvest of a new ministry, and like prudent persons they took measures in time to have their share in that of a new government.

THE whimsical or the hanover tories continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was signed. I saw no people so

so eager for the conclusion of it. Some of them * were in such haste, that they thought any peace preferable to the least delay, and omitted no instances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As soon as the treaties were perfected and laid before the parliament, the scheme of these gentlemen began to disclose itself entirely. Their love of the peace, like other passions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the construction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the secret of what was to happen, would not preclude themselves from the glorious advan-

* HANMER's letter.

tage of rising, on the ruins of their friends and of their party.

The danger of the ſucceſſion, and the badneſs of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the firſt, the whimſical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly againſt their party. Altho nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed deſign in the party, whatever views ſome particular men might have, againſt his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. On the latter, and moſt other points, they affected a moſt glorious neutrality.

Instead of gathering ſtrength,

neither as a ministry or as a party; we grew weaker every day. The peace had been judged with reason to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a tory system: and yet when it was made we found ourselves at a full stand. Nay the very work, which ought to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished before our eyes, and we were stoned with the ruins of it. Whilst this was doing, OXFORD looked on, as if he had not been a party to all which had passed; broke now and then a jest, which savoured of the inns of court and the bad company in which he had been bred: and on those occasions, where his station obliged

ged him to ſpeak of buſineſs, was abſolutely unintelligible.

WHETHER this man ever had any determined view beſides that of raiſing his family is, I believe, a problematical queſtion in the world. My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a miniſter, who propoſes to himſelf a great and noble object, and who purſues it ſteddily, may ſeem for a while a riddle to the world; eſpecially in a government like ours, where numbers of men, different in their characters, and different in their intereſts, are at all times to be managed; where public affairs are expoſed to more accidents and greater hazards than

in other countries; and where, by consequence, he who is at the head of business will find himself often distracted by measures which have no relation to his purpose, and obliged to bend himself to things which are in some degree contrary to his main design. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government: and the pilot and the minister are in similar circumstances. It seldom happens that either of them can steer a direct course, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently seem to carry them from it. But as the work advances, the conduct of him who leads it on with real abilities clears up, the appearing incon-

ſiſtencies are reconciled, and when it is once conſummated, the whole ſhews itſelf ſo uniform, ſo plain, and ſo natural, that every dabler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the ſame. But on the other hand, a man who propoſes no ſuch object, who ſubſtitutes artifice in the place of ability, who, inſtead of leading parties, and governing accidents, is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day ſomething new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impoſe a while on the world: but a little ſooner or a little later the myſtery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread

of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living from day to day. Which of these pictures resembles OXFORD most, you will determine. I am sorry to be obliged to name him so often; but how is it possible to do otherwise while I am speaking of times wherein the whole turn of affairs depended on his motions and character?

I HAVE heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windsor in the autumn of seventeen hundred and thirteen, after the marriage of his son, he pressed extremely to have him created duke of Newcastle or earl of Clare: and the queen presuming-

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ing to hesitate on so extraordinary a proposal, he resented this hesitation in a manner which little became a man who had been so lately raised by the profusion of her favors upon him. Certain it is, that he began then to shew a still greater remissness in all parts of his ministry, and to affect to say, that from such a time, the very time I am speaking of, he took no share in the direction of affairs, or words to that effect.

He pretended to have discovered intrigues which were set on foot against him, and particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his absence, during the journey he

made at his ſon's marriage, to undermine him with the queen. He is naturally inclined to believe the worſt; which I take to be a certain mark of a mean ſpirit and a wicked ſoul: at leaſt I am ſure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weakneſs of underſtanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honeſt heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be ſeduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man ſo capable of being the bubble of his diſtruſt and jealouſy. He was ſo in this caſe, altho the queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, ſaid enough to undeceive him. But to be undeceived, and to own himſelf ſo, was not

not his play. He hoped by cunning to varnish over his want of faith and of ability. He was desirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or, to speak more properly, the no part, which he acted with the staff of treasurer in his hand, to the queen's withdrawing her favor from him, and to his friends abandoning him: pretences utterly groundless when he first made them, and which he brought to be real at last. Even the winter before the queen's death, when his credit began to wain apace, he might have regained it; he might have reconciled himself perfectly with all his antient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole

whole party. I ſay, he might have done all this; becauſe I am perſuaded that none of thoſe I have named were ſo convinced of his perfidy, ſo jaded with his yoke, or, ſo much piqued perſonally againſt him, as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himſelf in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left us, and to ward off the viſible danger which threatened our perſons and our party, I would have ſtifled my private animoſity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was uncapable of taking ſuch a turn. The ſum of all his policy had been to amuſe the whigs, the tories, and the jacobites, as long

long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amuſed them. When it became impoſſible to amuſe mankind any longer, he appeared plainly at the end of his line.

By a ſecret correſpondence with the late earl of HALIFAX, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavoured to keep ſome hold on the whigs.

THE tories were attached to him at firſt by the heat of a revolution in the miniſtry, by their hatred of the people who were diſcarded, and by the fond hopes which it is eaſy to give at the ſetting out of a new adminiſtration.

tion. Afterwards he held out the peace in prospect to them, and to the jacobites, separately, as an event which must be brought about before he could effectually serve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we pressed were put off, upon every occasion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new administration, and the period at which the millenary year of toryism should begin. Thus were the tories at that time amused: and since my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumstantially that the jacobites were treated in the same manner, and that the pretender was made, through the french minister, to expect that

measures should be taken for his restoration, as soon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partisans were to lie still, OXFORD undertook for all.

AFTER many delays, fatal to the general interest of Europe, this peace was signed: and the only considerable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above; and by it an accession of riches and honor to a family, whose estate was very mean, and whose illustration before this time I never met with any-where, but in the vain discourses which he used to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of the

the parties abovementioned, it must be supposed that he did so with the whigs; for as to us, we saw nothing after the peace but increase of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a step was made towards completing the settlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Radstat left imperfect; towards fortifying and establishing the tory party; towards securing those, who had been the principal actors in this administration, against future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that these things should immediately follow the conclusion of the peace: he had never, I dare swear, entertained a thought concerning them. As soon as the last hand was

given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his mistress, his friends, and his party, who had bore him so many years on their shoulders: and I was present when this want of faith was reproached him in the plainest and strongest terms by one of the honestest * men in Britain, and before some of the most † considerable tories. Even his impudence failed him on this occasion: he did not so much as attempt an excuse.

He could not keep his word which he had given the pretender and his adherents, because he

* Lord TREVOR.

† Duke of ORMOND, lord ANGLESEY, lord HARCOURT, and myself, in OXFORD's lodgings in St. James's house.

had

had formed no party to ſupport him in ſuch a deſign. He was ſure of having the whigs againſt him if he made the attempt, and he was not ſure of having the tories for him.

In this ſtate of confuſion and diſtreſs, to which he had reduced himſelf and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the ſpy of the whigs, and voted with us in the morning againſt thoſe very queſtions which he had penned the night before with WALPOLE, and others.—He kept his poſt on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither ſubmitting to the queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he could

could not act with us; and he resolved that we should not act without him, as long as he could hinder it. The queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by these means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adversaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himself that he had gained some of the whigs, and softened at least the rest of the party to him. By his secret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted, that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he should under his present majesty's reign, have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the queen. He was weak enough to boast of

this, and to promiſe his good offices voluntarily to ſeveral: for no man was weak enough to think them worth being ſolicited. In a word, you muſt have heard that he anſwered to lord DARTMOUTH and to Mr. BROMLEY, that one ſhould keep the privy ſeal, and the other the ſeals of ſecretary; and that lord COWPER makes no ſcruple of telling how he came to offer him the ſeals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favor. Againſt his ſuſpicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his credulity: and this deluſion betrayed him into a puniſhment, more ſevere in my ſenſe than all which

has happened to him since, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner in which he was presented to the king. The meanest subject would have been received with goodness, the most obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the most distinguishing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this instance, with punishing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the insolence, which had been shewn to his predecessor. OXFORD fled from court covered with shame, the object of the derision of the whigs, and of the indignation of the tories.

THE queen might, if ſhe had pleaſed, have ſaved herſelf from all thoſe mortifications ſhe met with during the laſt months of her reign, and her ſervants and the tory party from thoſe misfortunes which they endured during the ſame time; perhaps from thoſe which they have fallen into ſince her death. When ſhe found that the peace, from the concluſion of which ſhe expected eaſe and quiet, brought ſtill greater trouble upon her; when ſhe ſaw the weakneſs of her government, and the confuſion of her affairs increaſe every day; when ſhe ſaw her firſt miniſter bewildered and unable to extricate himſelf or her; in fine, when the negligence of

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his public conduct, and the ſau-
cineſs of his private behaviour
had rendered him inſupportable
to her, and ſhe took the reſolu-
tion of laying him aſide, there
was a ſtrength ſtill remaining
ſufficient to have ſupported her
government, to have fulfilled in
great part the expectations of
the tories, and to have conſti-
tuted both them and the mini-
ſters in ſuch a ſituation as would
have left them little to appre-
hend. Some deſigns were in-
deed on foot which might have
produced very great diſorders:
OXFORD's conduct had given
much occaſion to them, and
with the terror of them he
endeavoured to intimidate the
queen. But expedients were

 not

not hard to be found, by which those designs might have been nipped in the bud, or else by which the persons who promoted them might have been induced to lay them aside. But that fatal irresolution inherent to the Stuart race hung upon her. She felt too much inward resentment to be able to conceal his disgrace from him: yet after he had made this discovery, she continued to trust all her power in his hands.

No people ever were in such a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, to the summer following. The queen's health sunk every day.

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The attack which ſhe had in the winter at Windſor ſerved as a warning both to thoſe who wiſh-ed, and to thoſe who feared her death, to expect it. The party which oppoſed the court had been continually gaining ſtrength by the weakneſs of our admi-niſtration: and at this time their numbers were vaſtly encreaſed, and their ſpirit was raiſed by the near proſpect of the ſucceſſion taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the ſtrength we had. We ſaw our danger, and many of us ſaw the true means of avoiding it: but whilſt the magic wand was in the ſame hands, this knowledge ſerved only to increaſe our uneaſineſs; and, whether we would or no,

we were forced with our eyes open to walk on towards the precipice. Every moment we became leſs able, if the queen lived, to ſupport her government; if ſhe died, to ſecure ourſelves. One ſide was united in a common view, and acted upon an uniform plan: the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favor at the court of Hanover, that we were repreſented there as jacobites, and that the elector, his preſent majeſty, had been rendered publicly a party to that oppoſition, in ſpight of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take in our preſent circumſtances, any meaſures to be better or
worſe

worſe there. Thus we languiſh-ed till the twenty ſeventh of July one thouſand ſeven hun-dred and fourteen, when the queen diſmiſſed the treaſurer. On the friday following, ſhe fell into an apoplexy, and died on ſunday the firſt of Auguſt.

You do me, I dare ſay, the juſtice to believe, that whilſt this ſtate of things laſted I ſaw very well, how little mention ſoever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the mini-ſtry, or in the party, was ſo much expoſed, as my ſelf. I could expect no quarter from the whigs, for I had deſerved none. There were perſons a-mongſt them for whom I had great

great eſteem and friendſhip; yet neither with theſe, nor with any others, had I preſerved a ſecret correſpondence, which might be of uſe to me in the day of diſtreſs: and beſides the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained againſt me at Hanover. The whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would ſtop there. In which caſe, I knew that they could have hold on no man ſo much as myſelf: the inſtructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me, the correſpondence relating to it in France, and every where elſe, had been carried on by me;

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in a word, my hand appeared to almoſt every paper which had been writ in the whole courſe of the negotiation. To all theſe conſiderations I added that of the weight of perſonal reſentment, which I had created againſt myſelf at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the ſhare I was obliged to take in theſe affairs; and in part, if you will, unneceſſarily by the warmth of my temper, and by ſome unguarded expreſſions, for which I have no excuſe to make, but that which TACITUS makes for his father-in-law, JULIUS AGRICOLA: "honeſtius putabam offendere, quam odiſſe."

HAVING this proſpect of being

ing distinguished from the rest of my party, in the common calamity, by severer treatment, I might have justified myself, by reason and by great authorities too, if I had made early provision, at least to be safe, when I should be no longer useful. How I could have secured this point I do not think fit to explain: but certain it is that I made no one step towards it. I resolved not to abandon my party by turning whig, or, which is worse a great deal, whimsical; nor to treat separately from it. I resolved to keep myself at liberty to act on a tory bottom. If the queen disgraced OXFORD and continued to live afterwards, I knew we should have

have time and means to provide for our future ſafety: if the queen died and left us in the ſame unfortunate circumſtances, I expected to ſuffer for and with the tories; and I was prepared for it.

THE thunder had long grumbled in the air; and yet when the bolt fell, moſt of our party appeared as much ſurpriſed as if they had had no reaſon to expect it. There was a perfect calm and univerſal ſubmiſſion through the whole kingdom. The chevalier indeed ſet out as if his deſign had been to gain the coaſt and to embark for Great Britain; and the court of France made a merit to them-

ſelves of ſtopping him and oblig-
ing him to return. But this,
to my certain knowledge, was
a farce acted by concert, to keep
up an opinion of his character,
when all opinion of his cauſe
ſeemed to be at an end. He
owned this concert to me at Bar,
on the occaſion of my telling
him that he would have found
no party ready to receive him,
and that the enterpriſe would
have been to the laſt degree ex-
travagant. He was at this time
far from having any encourage-
ment: no party, numerous e-
nough to make the leaſt diſtur-
bance, was formed in his fa-
vor. On the king's arrival the
ſtorm aroſe. The menaces of
the whigs, backed by ſome ve-

ry rash declarations, by little circumstances of humor which frequently offend more than real injuries, and by the entire change of all the persons in employment, blew up the coals.

At first many of the tories had been made to entertain some faint hopes that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been assured that the king left Hanover in that resolution. Happy had it been for him and for us if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence of party; and his and the national interest sacrificed to the passions of a few. Others there were among the tories who had

had flattered themſelves with much greater expectations than theſe, and who had depended, not on ſuch imaginary favor and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterwards, but on real credit and ſubſtantial power under the new government. Such impreſſions on the minds of men had rendered the two houſes of parliament, which were then ſitting, as good courtiers to king GEORGE, as ever they had been to queen ANNE. But all theſe hopes being at once and with violence extinguiſhed; deſpair ſucceeded in their room.

OUR party began ſoon to act like men delivered over to their

paſſions,

paſſions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a juſt reſentment and a reaſonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were reſolved not to live under it: and yet they took no one meaſure to ſupport themſelves againſt it. They expreſſed, without reſerve or circumſpection, an eagerneſs to join in any attempt againſt the eſtabliſhment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted but a few weeks before: and yet in the midſt of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, ſome of theſe very men acted with the coolneſs of

those who are much better disposed to compound than to take arms.

The body of the tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and began apace to turn their eyes towards the pretender: and if those few, who had already engaged with him, applied themselves to improve the conjuncture, and endeavoured to list a party for him.

I went, about a month after the queen's death, as soon as the seals were taken from me, into the country; and whilst I continued there, I felt the general disposition to jacobitism in-

creaſe daily among people of all ranks; among ſeveral who had been conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by their averſion to that cauſe. But at my return to London in the month of February or March one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the firſt time in my whole life to perceive theſe general diſpoſitions ripen into reſolutions, and to obſerve ſome regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a ſcheme of this kind. Theſe workings, indeed, were very faint; for the perſons concerned in carrying them on did not think it ſafe to ſpeak too plainly to men, who were, in truth, ill diſpoſed to

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the government, becaufe they neither found their account at prefent under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the fame time had not the leaft affection for the pretender's perfon, nor any principle favorable to his intereft.

THIS was the ftate of things when the new parliament, which his majefty had called, affembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favor of the whigs; to which the want of concert among the tories had contributed as much, as the vigor of that party, and the influence of the new government

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The whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could poſſeſs men who expected to make their court, to confirm themſelves in power, and to gratify their reſentments by the ſame meaſures. I have heard that it was a diſpute among the miniſters, how far this ſpirit ſhould be indulged; and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to conſent to the proſecutions, and to give the reins to the party, by the repreſentations that were made to him; that great difficulties would ariſe in the conduct of the ſeſſion if the court ſhould appear inclined to check this ſpirit, and by Mr. W—'s undertaking

taking to carry all the buſineſs ſucceſsfully through the houſe of commons if they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real neceſſity ſometimes, and ſometimes a ſeeming one, has forced them to compound with a part of the nation at the expence of the whole; and the ſucceſs of their buſineſs for one year has been purchaſed at the price of public diſorder for many.

The conjuncture I am ſpeaking of affords a memorable inſtance of this truth. If milder meaſures had been purſued, certain it is, that the tories had never univerſally embraced jacobitiſm. The violence of the

whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender. The court and the party ſeemed to vie with one another which ſhould go the greateſt lengths in ſeverity: and the miniſters, whoſe true intereſt it muſt at all times be to calm the minds of men, and who ought never to ſet the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accuſations, were upon this occaſion the tribunes of the people.

THE council of regency, which began to ſit as ſoon as the queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation ſaw every thing quiet; not one of thoſe ſymptoms appearing which

muſt have ſhewn themſelves more or leſs at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any meaſures taken during the former reign to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. His majeſty aſcended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a ſon ſucceeded a father in the poſſeſſion of a private patrimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my diſmiſſion, of ſeeing a great part of what paſſed in that council, would have thought that there had been an oppoſition actually formed, that the new eſtabliſhment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

THE ſame diſpoſition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquiſition went on with all the eagerneſs imaginable in ſeiſing of papers, in ranſacking the queen's cloſet, and examining even her private letters. The whigs had clamored loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been ſold to France, to Spain, to the pretender: and whilſt they endeavoured in vain, by very ſingular methods, to find ſome color to juſtify what they had advanced without proof, they put themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of grounding the moſt ſolemn proſecution on things, whereof they might indeed have proof, but which

which would never paſs for crimes before any judges, but ſuch as were parties at the ſame time.

In the king's firſt ſpeech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houſes. The firſt ſteps in both were perfectly anſwerable: and, to the ſhame of the peerage be it ſpoken, I ſaw at that time ſeveral lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular reſolutions. Among ſeveral bloody reſolutions propoſed and agitated at this time, the reſolution of

of impeaching me of high treason was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror improved by the artifices of the duke of MARLBOROUGH, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any case, but on such grounds as the proceedings which soon followed sufficiently justified, and as I have never repented building upon. Those who blamed it in the first heat were soon after obliged to change their language: for what other resolution could I take? The method of prosecution designed against me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myself, or to serve those who were less exposed

expoſed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whoſe aſſiſtance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in thoſe circumſtances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a conſiderable height; but there was at that time no reaſon to expect that it could influence the proceedings in parliament in favor of thoſe who ſhould be accuſed. Left to it's own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than ſlacken the proſecutions: and who was there to guide it's motions? The tories who had been true to one another to the laſt were an handful, and no great vigor could be

be expected from them. The whimsicals, disappointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began indeed to join their old friends. One * of the principal amongst them was so very good as to confess to me, that if the court had called the servants of the late queen to account, and had stopped there, he must have considered himself as a judge, and have acted according to his conscience on what should have appeared to him: but that war had been declared to the whole tory party, and that now the state of things was altered. This dis-

* Earl of ANGLESEY. I told the fact to the bishop of ROCHESTER that night or the next day.

course

courſe needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this ſet of men. Could I then reſolve to be obliged to them, or to ſuffer with OXFORD? As much as I ſtill was heated by the diſputes in which I had been all my life engaged againſt the whigs, I would ſooner have choſe to owe my ſecurity to their indulgence, than to the aſſiſtance of the whimſicals: but I thought baniſhment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred OXFORD to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any caſe. Nothing perhaps contributed ſo much to determine me as this ſentiment. A ſenſe
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of honor would not have permitted me to diſtinguiſh between his caſe and mine own: and it was worſe than death to lie under the neceſſity of making them the ſame, and of taking meaſures in concert with him.

I AM now come to the time at which I left England, and have finiſhed the firſt part of that deduction of facts which I propoſed to lay before you. I am hopeful that you will not think it altogether tedious or unneceſſary: for altho very little of what I have ſaid can be new to you, yet this ſummary account will enable you with greater eaſe to recal to your memory the paſſages of thoſe four

four years, wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and neceſſary connection.

In what has been ſaid I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in thoſe days ſo much merit as was aſcribed to me: nor ſince that time have I had ſo little as the ſame perſons allowed me. I committed without diſpute many faults; and a greater man than I can pretend to be, conſtituted in the ſame circumſtances, would not have kept clear of all: but with reſpect to the tories I committed none. I carried the point of party-honor to the height, and ſacrificed every thing

to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done ſo during the reſt.

WHEN I arrived in France, about the end of March one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, the affairs of England were repreſented to me in another light, than I had ſeen them in when I looked upon them with my own eyes very few weeks before. I found the perſons, who were detached to ſpeak with me, prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was aſſured by them, that there

would be ſuddenly an univerſal riſing in England and Scotland. The leaders were named to me, their engagements ſpecified, and many gentlemen, yourſelf among others, were reckoned upon for particular ſervices, tho I was certain you had never been treated with. From whence I concluded, and the event has juſtified my opinion, that theſe aſſurances had been given on the general characters of men, by ſuch of our friends as had embarked ſooner, and gone farther than the reſt.

This management ſurpriſed me extremely. In the anſwers I made, I endeavoured to ſet the

the miſtake right; to ſhew that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the chevalier had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme violence which the whigs threatened to exerciſe. Great endeavours were uſed to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to anſwer the letter of invitation ſent me from Bar. I alledged, as it was true, that I had no commiſſion from any perſon in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only perſons who could determine me, if any could, to take ſuch a ſtep. As to the laſt propoſition, I abſolutely refuſed it.

In the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the prosecutions would be pushed, which was most probable, in the manner intended against me, and against others, for all of whom, except the earl of OXFORD, I had as much concern as for myself; or whether the whigs would relent, drop some, and soften the fate of others; I resolved to conduct myself so, as to create no appearance which might be strained into a pretence for hard usage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, or when they defended themselves. I saw the earl of STAIR, I promised him that I would enter into no jacobite-engagements, and I kept

my word with him. I writ a letter to Mr. ſecretary STANHOPE, which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné to remove the objection of reſidence near the court of France.

THIS retreat from Paris was cenſured in England, and ſtyled a deſertion of my friends and of their cauſe: with what foundation let any reaſonable man determine. Had I engaged with the pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I ſhould do ſo, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myſelf as theirs: I had

 gone

gone about to bring them into his meaſures; whereas I never intended, even ſince that time, to do any thing more than to make him as far as poſſible act conformably to their views.

During the ſhort time I continued on the banks of the Rhone, the proſecutions were carried on at Weſtminſter with the utmoſt violence, and the ferment among the people was riſen to ſuch a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in ſomething worſe, than it did. The meaſures which I obſerved at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which

I writ

I writ to Mr. secretary STANHOPE was quoted as a base and fawning submission: and what I intended as a mark of respect to the government, and a service to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter. The act of attainder, in consequence of my impeachment, had passed against me, for crimes of the blackest dye: and among other inducements to pass it, my having been engaged in the pretender's interest was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared: I was just as guilty of the rest. The correspondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor safe. I heard seldom and darkly from

you; and tho I ſaw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the meaſures you took, and of the uſe you intended to make of me. I contented myſelf, therefore, with letting you all know, that you had but to command me, and that I was ready to venture in your ſervice the little which remained, as frankly as I had expoſed all which was gone. At laſt your commands came, and I ſhall ſhew you in what manner I executed them.

THE perſon who was ſent to me arrived in the beginning of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, at the place where

where I was. He ſpoke in the name of all the friends whoſe authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under ſome ſort of diſſatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exaſperated againſt the government to ſuch a degree, that, far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be reſtrained from inſulting it on every occaſion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the ſoldiers were very well affected to the cauſe; that the city of London was ready to riſe, and that the enter-
priſes

prifes for feifing of feveral places were ripe for execution: in a word, that moft of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of ORMOND, for I had preffed particularly to be informed, whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his council; and that the others were fo difpofed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as foon as the firft blow fhould be ftruck. He added, that my friends were a little furprifed to obferve that I lay neuter in fuch a conjuncture. He reprefented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all fides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprife; and how unaccountable it would be for a man

a man impeached and attainted under the present government, to take no ſhare in bringing about a revolution ſo near at hand and ſo certain. He entreated that I would defer no longer to join the chevalier; to adviſe and aſſiſt in carrying on his affairs, and to ſolicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I ſhould not fail to meet with a favorable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving aſſiſtance in a ſituation of affairs ſo critical, ſo unexpected, and ſo promiſing. He concluded by giving me a letter from the pretender, whom he had ſeen in his way to me, in which I was preſſed to repair without loſs of time

time to Commercy: and this inſtance was grounded on the meſſage, which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was ſent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haſte to make his own court, and to deliver the aſſurances which were entruſted to him. Perhaps too he imagined that he ſhould tie the knot faſter on me by acquainting me, that my friends had actually engaged for themſelves and me, than by barely telling me that they deſired I would engage for myſelf and them.

IN the progreſs of the conver-ſation

verſation he related a multitude of facts, which ſatisfied me as to the general diſpoſition of the people; but he gave me little ſatisfaction as to the meaſures taken for improving this diſpoſition, for driving the buſineſs on with vigor if it tended to a revolution, or for ſupporting it with advantage if it ſpun into a war. When I queſtioned him concerning ſeveral perſons whoſe diſinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whoſe names, quality, and experience were very eſſential to the ſucceſs of the undertaking, he owned to me, that they kept a great reſerve, and did at moſt but encourage others to act, by general and dark expreſſions.

I RECEIVED this account and this summons ill in my bed: yet important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage did not escape me. But the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Besides which, I considered first that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine that you could be so near to take arms, as he represented you to be, on no other foundation than that

 which

which he expoſed: and ſecondly, that I was obliged in honor to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; ſince my friends had taken their reſolution to declare, without any previous aſſurance of what might be expected from France. This ſecond motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more ſound than ſenſe in it, and it contains the original error to which all your ſubſequent errors, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be aſcribed.

My reſolution thus taken, I loſt no time in repairing to Commercy.

Commercy. The very firſt converſations with the chevalier anſwered in no degree my expectations: and I aſſure you with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own raſhneſs, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to ſet out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which: and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found that concerning the former he had nothing more circumſtantial nor poſitive to go upon, than what I had already heard. The advices which were ſent from thence contained

contained ſuch aſſurances of ſucceſs, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the ſureſt grounds, would preſume to give. But then theſe aſſurances were general, and the authority ſeldom ſatisfactory. Thoſe which came from the beſt hands were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful meſſengers; others came from men whoſe fortunes were as deſperate as their counſels; and others came from perſons whoſe ſituation in the world gave little reaſon to attend to their judgment in matters of this kind.

THE duke of ORMOND had been for ſome time, I cannot ſay how long, engaged with

the chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himſelf, and had received a commiſſion for this purpoſe, which contained the moſt ample powers that could be given. After this, one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the pretender ſhould proceed, and the tories engage in this ſervice, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correſpondence had been eſtabliſhed; that the neceſſary aſſiſtances had been ſpecified, and that poſitive aſſurances had been given of them. Nothing leſs. In a matter as ſerious as this, all was looſe and abandoned to the diſpoſition of fortune.

fortune. The first point had never been touched upon: by what I have said above you see how little care was taken of the second: and as to the third, the duke had asked a small body of regular forces, a sum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in answer by the court of France, that he must absolutely despair of any number of troops whatever; but he had been made in general to hope for some money, some arms, and some ammunition: a little sum had, I think, been advanced to him. In a case so plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. The assistances demanded from

France at this time, and even greater than these, will appear, in the sequel of this relation, by the sense of the whole party to have been deemed essentially necessary to success. In such an uncertainty therefore, whether even these could be obtained, or rather with so much reason to apprehend that they could not, it was evident that the tories ought to have him still. They might have helped the ferment against the government, but should have avoided with the utmost care the giving any alarm, or even suspicion of their true design, and have resumed or not resumed it as the chevalier was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money,

ney, &c. Inftead of which thofe who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore anfwerable for the meafures which were purfued, fuffered the bufinefs to jog merrily on. They knew in general how little dependence was to be placed on foreign fuccour, but acted as if they had been fure of it: while the party were rendered fanguine by their paffions, and made no doubt of fubverting a government they were angry with, both one and the other made as much buftle, and gave as great alarm, as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general infurrection. This appeared to me to be the ftate of things with refpect to Eng-

land, when I arrived at Commercy.

The Scots had long pressed the chevalier to come amongst them, and had of late sent frequent messages to quicken his departure, some of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than respectful. The truth is, they seemed in as much haste to begin, as if they had thought themselves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehensive of no danger but that of seeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honor of it shared by others. However, that which was wanting on the part of England was not wanting in Scotland: the Scots

Scots talked aloud, but they were in a condition to rise. They took little care to keep their intentions secret, but they were disposed to put those intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the secret no longer necessary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the chevalier even to the place of his landing.

THERE was need of no great sagacity to perceive how unequal such foundations were to the weight of the building designed to be raised on them. The Scots with all their zeal and all their valor could bring

no revolution about, unless in concurrence with the English: and among the latter nothing was ripe for such an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was so. I thought therefore that the pretender's friends in the north should be kept from rising, till those in the south had put themselves in a condition to act; and that in the mean while the utmost endeavours ought to be used with the king of FRANCE to espouse the cause; and that a plan of the design, with a more particular specification of the succours desired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which they should be conveyed, ought to be writ for: all which,

I was

I was told by the marſhal of BERWIC, who had the principal direction at that time of theſe affairs in France, and I dare ſay very truly, had been often aſked but never ſent. I looked on this enterpriſe to be of the nature of thoſe which can hardly be undertaken more than once; and I judged that the ſucceſs of it would depend on timing, as near as poſſible, together the inſurrection in both parts of the iſland, and the ſuccours from hence. The pretender approved this opinion of mine. He inſtructed me accordingly: and I left Lorain, after having accepted the ſeals much againſt my inclination. I made one condition with him. It was this:

that I ſhould be at liberty to quit a ſtation, which my humor and many other conſiderations made me think myſelf very unfit for; whenever the occaſion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I deſire you to remember that I did ſo.

I ARRIVED at Paris towards the end of July one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen. You will obſerve that all I was charged with, and all by conſequence that I am anſwerable for, was to ſolicit this court, and to diſpoſe them to grant us the ſuccours neceſſary to make the attempt, as ſoon as we ſhould know certainly from England in what

what it was desired that these succours should consist, and whither they should be sent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes: no subordination, no order, no concert. Persons concerned in the management of these affairs upon former occasions have assured me, this is always the case. It might be so to some degree; but I believe never so much as now. The jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present designs as infallible. Every meeting-house which the populace demolished, every little drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them

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in these sanguine expectations: and there was hardly one amongst them who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which, he took it for granted, would be brought about, without him, in a very few weeks.

CARE and hope sat on every busy irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to shew, and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry. FANNY OGLETHORPE, whom you must have seen in England, kept her corner in it, and OLIVE TRANT was the great wheel of our machine.

I IMAGINE

I IMAGINE that this picture, the lines of which are not in the leaſt too ſtrong, would ſerve to repreſent what paſſed on your ſide of the water at the ſame time. The letters which came from thence ſeemed to me to contain rather ſuch things as the writers wiſhed might be true, than ſuch as they knew to be ſo: and the accounts which were ſent from hence were of the ſame kind. The vanity of ſome, and the credulity of others ſupported this ridiculous correſpondence; and I queſtion not but very many perſons, ſome ſuch I have known, did the ſame thing from a principle which they took to be a very wiſe one: they imagined that they helped by theſe

means

means to maintain and to increaſe the ſpirit of the party in England and France. They acted like THOAS, that turbulent aetolian, who brought ANTIOCHUS into Greece: "qui-"bus mendaciis de rege, mul-"tiplicando verbis copias ejus, "erexerat multorum in Graecia "animos; iiſdem et regis ſpem "inflabat, omnium votis eum "arceſſi." Thus were numbers of people employed under a notion of advancing the buſineſs, or from an affectation of importance, in amuſing and flattering one another, and in ſounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their intereſt to ſurpriſe. The government of England was put on

it's guard: and the neceſſity of acting, or of laying aſide with ſome diſadvantage all thoughts of acting for the preſent, was precipitated, before any meaſures neceſſary to enable you to act had been prepared, or almoſt thought of.

If his majeſty did not, till ſome ſhort time after this, declare the intended invaſion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been diſcovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furniſhed the only means the chevalier then had for his tranſportation into Britain, which had exhauſted the treaſury of St. Germains,

mains, and which contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, tho they were hardly ſufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publicly. A miniſter leſs alert and leſs capable than the earl of STAIR would eaſily have been at the bottom of the ſecret, for ſo it was called, when the particulars of meſſages received and ſent, the names of the perſons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whiſpered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houſes.

IN ſhort; what by the indiſcretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back

back from London, what by the private interests and ambitious views of persons in the french court, and what by other causes unnecessary to be examined now, the most private transactions came to light: and they, who imagined that they trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into such company was I fallen, for my sins: and it is upon the credit of such a mob ministry, that the tories have judged me capable of betraying a trust, or incapable of discharging it.

I HAD made very little progress in the business which brought me to Paris, when

the paper ſo long expected was ſent, in purſuance of former inſtances, from England. The unanimous ſenſe of the principal perſons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated word for word to the gentleman, who brought it over, by the earl of MAR, and it had been delivered to him by the duke of ORMOND. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compaſs, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I ſteered my courſe exactly by it. Whether the perſons from whom it came purſued the principles, and obſerved the rules which they laid down as the meaſures of their own conduct and of ours,

ours, will appear by the sequel of this relation.

THIS memorial asserted, that there were no hopes of succeeding in a present undertaking, for many reasons deduced in it, without an immediate and universal rising of the people in all parts of England upon the chevalier's arrival; and that this insurrection was in no degree probable unless he brought a body of regular troops along with him: that, if this attempt miscarried, his cause and his friends, the english liberty and government, would be utterly ruined: but, if by coming without troops he resolved to risque these and every thing else, he must set out

so as not to arrive before the end of September, O. S. to justify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this case twenty thousand arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their servants, and a considerable sum of money were demanded: and as soon as they should be informed that the chevalier was in condition to make this provision, it was said that notice should be given him of the places to which he might send, and of the persons who were to be trusted. I do not mention some inconveniencies which they touched upon arising from a delay; because their opinion was clearly for this delay, and because that they could

not

not ſuppoſe that the chevalier would act, or that thoſe about him would adviſe him to act, contrary to the ſenſe of all his friends in England. No time was loſt in making the proper uſe of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be ſhewn to this court was tranſlated into French, and laid before the king of FRANCE. I was now able to ſpeak with greater aſſurance, and in ſome ſort to undertake conditionally for the event of things.

THE propoſal of violating treaties, ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly concluded, was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be,

whom the war had reduced to the lowest ebb of riches and power. They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, such as the sending a body of troops would have been; neither would they grant the whole of what was asked in the second plan. But it was impossible for them, or any one else, to foresee how far those steps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us some succours, and the very ship in which the pretender was to transport himself was fitted out by DEPINE D'AMICANT at the king of FRANCE'S expence. They would have concealed these appearances

pearances as much as they could; but the heat of the whigs and the resentment of the court of England might have drawn them in. We should have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing these things upon them: and, in a word, if the late king had lived six months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when these affairs had, to my apprehension, the least reasonable appearance even of possibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and desperate. But this favorable aspect had an extreme short duration. Two events soon happened, one

of which caſt a damp on all we were doing, and the other rendered vain and fruitleſs all we had done. The firſt was the arrival of the duke of ORMOND in France, the other was the death of the king.

WE had ſounded the duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the ſignal whenever he drew his ſword: and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when, in the midſt

midst of all these bright ideas, they saw him arrive, almost literally alone, when, to excuse his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not stay; they sunk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this case; because they had had too good an opinion of the cause, they began to form too bad an one. Before this time, if they had no friendship for the tories, they had at least some considera-tion and esteem. After this, I saw nothing but compassion in the best of them, and contempt in the others.

WHEN I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where

where the indiſpoſition which he had begun to feel at Verſailles increaſed upon him. He was the beſt friend the chevalier had: and when I engaged in this buſineſs, my principal dependence was on his perſonal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the ſame vigor as formerly. The miniſters, who ſaw ſo great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confuſion, at beſt a new face of government and a new ſyſtem of affairs, would not, for their own ſakes, as well as for the ſake of the public, venture to engage far in any new meaſures. All

I had

I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the duke of ORMOND soon afterwards, languished with the king. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired. The event of things has sufficiently shewn that all those, which were entertained by the duke and the jacobite party under the regency, were founded on the grossest delusions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by those, who directed things in England, for putting it in execution.

THE new government of France appeared to me like a strange

ſtrange country. I was little acquainted with the roads. Moſt of the faces I met with were unknown to me, and I hardly underſtood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were diſcarded, and moſt of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of ſecuring themſelves under this, to receive applications in favor of the pretender. The two men who had the greateſt appearance of favor and power were D'AGUESSEAU and NOAILLES. One was made chancellor, on the death of VOISIN, from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treaſury. The firſt paſſes for

a man of parts, but he never acted out of the ſphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you conſider his circumſtances and mine, you will not think it could be very eaſy for me to get acceſs to him now. The latter I had known extremely well whilſt the late king lived: and from the ſame court principle, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The * miniſter who had the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendſhip with, and I muſt own to his honor, that he never encouraged a deſign, which he knew that his court had no intention of ſupporting.

* M. D'HUXELLES.

THERE

THERE were other perſons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of converſing: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a caſe which they found no diſpoſition in their maſter to countenance, and in favor of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the duke of ORLEANS had entered with his majeſty, during the life of the late king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into ſtrength, and would ſoon have had no force at all if the pretender had met with ſucceſs: but in theſe

beginnings they operated very ſtrongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under LEWIS the fourteenth. "Cela reſemble trop "à l'ancien ſyſtème," was an anſwer ſo often given, that it became a jeſt, and almoſt a proverb. But to finiſh this account with a fact which is incredible, but ſtrictly true; the very peace, which had ſaved France from ruin, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

THE duke of ORMOND flattered himſelf in this ſtate of things, that he had opened a private

and

and ſure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending him to his purpoſes. His grace and I lived together at this time in an houſe which one of my friends had lent me. I obſerved that he was frequently loſt, and that he made continual excurſions out of town, with all the myſterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at firſt, whether theſe intrigues related to buſineſs or pleaſure. I ſoon diſcovered with whom they were carried on, and had reaſon to believe that both were mingled in them. It is neceſſary that I explain this ſecret to you.

MRS. TRANT, whom I have named above, had been preparing

paring herself for the retired abstemious life of a * carmelite, by taking a surfeit of the pleasures of Paris; when a little before the death of the queen, or about that time, she went into England. What she was entrusted, either by the chevalier, or any other person, to negotiate there, I am ignorant of; and it imports not much to know. In that journey she made or renewed an acquaintance with the duke of ORMOND. The Scandalous chronicle affirms, that she brought with her, when she returned into France, a woman,

* She used to pretend a resolution of turning nun. She is since married to the duke of BOUILLON's brother, who was too much dishonored by his former life, to be so even by this scandalous match.

of whom I have not the leaſt knowledge, but who was probably handſome; ſince without beauty ſuch a merchandiſe would not have been ſaleable, nor have anſwered the deſign of the importer: and that ſhe made this way her court to the regent. Whatever her merit was, ſhe kept a correſpondence with him, and put herſelf upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all thoſe, who contribute to his pleaſures, to aſſume. She was placed by him, as ſhe told me herſelf, where I found her ſome time after that which I am ſpeaking of, in the houſe of an antient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honor to Madame, and who had contracted at court

a ſpirit

a ſpirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

THESE two had aſſociated to them the abbé de TESIEU, in all the political parts of their buſineſs; for I will not ſuppoſe that ſo reverend an eccleſiaſtic entered into any other ſecret. This abbé is the regent's ſecretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his maſter and the earl of STAIR in the king's reign. Whether the prieſt had ſtooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the ſecond part by the ſame orders that he acted the firſt, I know not. This is ſure, and the britiſh miniſter was not the bubble of it,

 that

that whilſt he concerted meaſures on one hand to traverſe the pretender's deſigns, he teſtified on the other all the inclination poſſible to his ſervice. A mad fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and ſeveral other politicians of the loweſt form, were at different times taken into this famous junto.

WITH theſe worthy people his grace of ORMOND negotiated; and no care was omitted on his part to keep me out of the ſecret. The reaſon of which, as far as I am able to gueſs at, ſhall be explained to you by and by. I might very juſtly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find

in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I proteſt to you very ſincerely I was not in the leaſt moved at it.

He advanced not a ſtep in his buſineſs with theſe ſham miniſters, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progreſs with the true ones, but I ſaw it. Theſe, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your ſide, and which embarraſſed us more. The firſt hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the ſecond took all point of view from us.

A paper was ſent into Eng-

land just before the death of the king of FRANCE, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the dukes of ORMOND and BERWIC, and with monsieur de TORCY. This paper was an answer to the memorial received from thence. *The state of this* country was truly represented in it: the difference was fixed between *what had been asked*, and what might be expected from France; and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the french secretary of state to our hands. They declared themselves unable to say any thing, till they should see what turn affairs would

would take on ſo great an event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

SUCH a declaration ſhut our mouths and tied our hands. I confeſs I knew neither how to ſolicit, nor what to ſolicit; this laſt meſſage ſuſpending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an inſtruction conſtantly before my eyes. It ſeemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your deſign was to ſtifle, as much as poſſible, all paſt tranſactions; to lie perfectly ſtill; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a falſe alarm, and to wait

till new accidents at home, and a more favorable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to resume the enterprise. Perhaps this would have been the wisest game you could have played: but then, you should have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no such thing, as appeared afterwards: and therefore those who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, must be deemed inexcusable for leaving things on the foot of this message, and giving us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. Whilst preparations were to be made, and the work was to be set a going by assistance from hence, you might reasonably expect to hear from

from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind ſeemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no reſolution here, but that of conforming ourſelves to whatever ſhould come preſcribed from England.

WHILST we were in this condition, the moſt deſperate that can be imagined, we began to receive verbal meſſages from you, that no more time was to be loſt, and that the chevalier ſhould come away. No man was, I believe, ever ſo embarraſſed as I found myſelf at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourſelves by looſe verbal meſſages, after all that had happened,

pened, to call us over; and I knew by experience how little ſuch meſſages are to be depended on. For, ſoon after I engaged in theſe affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, diſpatched, as he affirmed, by the duke of ORMOND, in whoſe name he inſiſted that the chevalier ſhould haſten into Britain, and that nothing but his preſence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand ſo poſitively, and ſo circumſtantially, that the reſolution was taken at Bar to ſet out, and my rendezvous to join the chevalier was appointed me. This method to fetch a king, with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to ſupper, appeared ſomewhat odd

odd to me, who was then very new in theſe affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been ſent for from Bar to Paris, I eaſily diſcerned that he had no ſuch commiſſion as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I preſumed to oppoſe the taking any reſolution upon his word, tho he was a monk: and ſoon after we knew from the duke of ORMOND himſelf, that he had never ſent him.

THIS example made me cautious; but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without ſuppoſing you all run mad, that the ſame men who judged this at-

tempt unripe for execution, unless supported by regular troops from France, or at least by all the other assistances which are enumerated above, while the design was much more secret than at present; when the king had no fleet at sea, nor more than eight thousand men dispersed over the whole island; when we had the good wishes of the french court on our side, and were sure of some particular assistances, and of a general connivance; that the same men, I say, should press for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a single company of foot; when the government of England was on it's guard,

guard, national troops were raiſ-
ed, foreign forces ſent for, and
France, like all the reſt of the
continent, againſt us. I could
not conceive ſuch a ſtrange com-
bination of accidents as ſhould
make the neceſſity of acting in-
creaſe gradually upon us, as the
means of doing ſo were taken
from us.

UPON the whole matter, my
opinion was, and I did not ob-
ſerve the duke of ORMOND to
differ from me, that we ſhould
wait till we heard from you in
ſuch a manner, as might aſſure
us of what you intended to do
yourſelves, and of what you ex-
pected from us; and that in the
mean while we ſhould go as far
as

as the little money which we had, and the little favor which was ſhewn us would allow, in getting ſome embarkations ready on the coaſt.

SIR GEORGE BYNG had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name ſeveral ſhips which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ſhips; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair the loſs; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will pleaſe to underſtand nothing more than veſſels to tranſport the pretender's perſon,

person, and the persons of those who should go over with him. This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

We were thus employed when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to represent the state of that country, and to require a definitive answer from the chevalier, whether he would have the insurrection to be made immediately, which they apprehended they might not be able to make at all if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was sent instantly back again, and was directed to let the persons he came from know, that the chevalier was desirous to have the rising of his friends

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in England and Scotland ſo adjuſted, that they might mutually aſſiſt each other, and diſtract the enemy; that he had not received a final anſwer from his friends in England, but that he was in daily expectation of it; that it was very much to be wiſhed, that all attempts in Scotland could be ſuſpended till ſuch time as the Engliſh were ready; but that if the Scots were ſo preſſed that, they muſt either ſubmit or riſe immediately, he was of opinion they ſhould riſe, and he would make the beſt of his way to them.

WHAT this forwardneſs in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardneſs in the Engliſh muſt

produce, it was not hard to foresee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any false measures, as I was conscious to myself that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones, I dispatched a gentleman to London, where I supposed the earl of MAR to be, some days before the message I have just spoken of was sent to Scotland. I desired him to make my compliments to lord MAR, and to tell him from me, that I understood it to be his sense, as well as the sense of all our friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England, and that England would not stir without assistance from abroad; that

he might aſſure himſelf no ſuch aſſiſtance could be depended upon; and that I begged of him to make the inference from theſe propoſitions. The gentleman went; but upon his arrival at London he found that the earl of MAR was already ſet out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his meſſage to a perſon * of confidence, who undertook to ſend it after his lordſhip: and this was the utmoſt which either he or I could do in ſuch a conjuncture.

You were now viſibly departed from the very ſcheme which you had ſent us over, and from

* Mr. LEWIS, who belonged to the earl of OXFORD.

all the principles which had been ever laid down. I did what I could to keep up my own ſpirit, as well as the ſpirits of the chevalier, and of all thoſe with whom I was in correſpondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myſelf. I could not remedy the miſchief, and I was reſolved to ſee the concluſion of the perillous adventure. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion ſince, that ſuch meaſures as theſe would not be purſued by any reaſonable man, in the moſt common affairs of life. It was with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I ſaw them purſued in the conduct of an enterpriſe, which had for it's object nothing

less than the disposition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing less than a civil war.

IMPATIENT that we heard nothing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the duke of ORMOND and I resolved to send a person * of confidence to London. We instructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had sent over, to let you know how destitute the chevalier was, either of actual support, or even of reasonable hopes; and to desire that you would determine

* Mr. EZECHIEL HAMILTON: he got all the papers by heart.

whether he ſhould go to Scotland, or throw himſelf on ſome part of the engliſh coaſt. This perſon was farther inſtructed to tell you, that, the chevalier being ready to take any reſolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his ſetting out the inſtant he received your anſwer: and therefore that to ſave time, if your intention was to riſe, you would do well to act immediately, on the aſſurance that the plan you preſcribed; be it what it would, ſhould be exactly complied with. We took this reſolution the rather, becauſe one of the pacquets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three

weeks before into monſieur de TORCY's hands, and which by conſequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time ſent back to me by this miniſter, I think open, with an excuſe that he durſt not take upon him to forward it.

THE perſon diſpatched to London returned very ſoon to us, and the anſwer he brought was *, that ſince affairs grew daily worſe, and could not mend by delay, our friends in England had reſolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the chevalier on his landing: that his perſon would be

* LANSDOWN gave this anſwer in the name of all the perſons privy to the ſecret.

as ſafe there as in Scotland, and that, in every other reſpect, it was better that he ſhould land in England; that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours, and that they hoped the weſtern counties were in a good poſture to receive him. To this was added, a general indication of the place he ſhould come to, as near to Plymouth as poſſible.

You muſt agree, that this was not the anſwer of men who knew what they were about. A little more preciſion was neceſſary in dictating a meſſage, which was to have ſuch conſequences: and eſpecially ſince the gentleman could not fail to acquaint

 the

the persons he spoke with, that the chevalier was not able to carry men enough to secure him from being taken up, even by the first constable. Notwithstanding this, the duke of ORMOND set out from Paris, and the chevalier from Bar. Some persons were sent to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on their way. Their routs were so ordered, that the duke of ORMOND was to sail from the coast of Normandy some days before the chevalier arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquainted with the country, and perfectly

ly well known to all our friends in thoſe parts, were diſpatched before, that the people of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, who were, we concluded, in arms, might be appriſed of the ſignals which were to be made from the ſhips, and might be ready to receive the duke.

ON the coaſt of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that ſeveral of our principal friends had been ſeiſed, immediately after the perſon who came laſt from them had left London; that the others were all diſperſed; and that the conſternation was univerſal. He embarked notwithſtanding this melancholy news, and, ſupport-

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ed by nothing but the firmneſs of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done leſs than theirs. One of the gentlemen, who had paſſed over before him, and had traverſed part of the country, joined him on the coaſt, and aſſured him that there was not the leaſt room to expect a riſing. In a word, he was refuſed a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good poſture to receive the chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him.

He returned to the coaſt of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition,

expedition, where the chevalier arrived about the ſame time from Lorain. What his grace propoſed by the ſecond attempt, which he made as ſoon as the veſſel could be refitted, to land in the ſame part of the iſland, I profeſs myſelf to be ignorant. I writ him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the ſtorm in which he had like to have been caſt away, and which forced him back to the french coaſt, ſaved him from a much greater peril, that of periſhing in an attempt as full of extravagant raſhneſs, and as void of all reaſonable meaning, as any of thoſe adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.

THE

The chevalier had now but one of theſe two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this laſt reſolution. He left Britany, where he had as many miniſters as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teiſed with noiſy diſputes about what was to be done in circumſtances, in which no reaſonable thing could be done. He ſent to have a veſſel got ready for him at Dunkirk, and he croſſed the country as privately as he could.

Whilst all theſe things paſſed, I remained at Paris, to try if by any

any means ſome aſſiſtance might be at laſt procured; without which it was evident, even to thoſe who flattered themſelves the moſt, that the game was up.

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No ſooner was the duke of ORMOND gone from Paris, on the deſign which I have mentioned, and Mrs. TRANT, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was ſent for to a little houſe at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where ſhe lived with mademoiſelle de CHAUSSERY, (the antient gentlewoman with whom the duke of ORLEANS had placed her. Theſe two perſons opened to me what had paſſed whilſt the duke of ORMOND was here, and the hopes

hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the meaſures neceſſary to ſupport the attempts which were making in favor of the chevalier.

By what they told me at firſt, I ſaw that they had been truſted; and by what paſſed in the courſe of my treating with them, it appeared, that they had the acceſs which they pretended to. All, which I had been able to do by proper perſons and in proper methods, ſince the king of France's death, amounting to little or nothing, I reſolved, at laſt, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myſelf under the conduct of theſe female managers; and, without

having the ſame dependence on them as his grace of ORMOND had, I puſhed their credit and their power as far as they reached, during the time I continued to ſee them. I met with ſmoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note ſigned by the regent, ſuppoſed to be writ to a woman, but which was to be explained to be intended for the earl of MAR, was put into my hands to be ſent to Scotland. I took a copy of it, which you may ſee at the end of theſe papers *. When Sir JOHN ARESKINE came to preſs for ſuccour, the regent was prevailed upon by

* This note has not been found among the author's papers.

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these women to see him; but he carried nothing real back with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was lost with the vessel, in a very odd manner, on the scotch coast. The duke of ORMOND had been promised seven or eight thousand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and said to be lodged, I think, at Compeigne. I used my utmost efforts that these arms might be carried forward to the coast, and I undertook for their transportation: but all was in vain; so that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater, than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

I SOON grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but ſucceſs could render tolerable; and reſolved to be no longer amuſed by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained perſonal prejudices againſt me, and that he was inſenſibly, and by degrees, to be dipped in our meaſures; that both theſe things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we ſhould then be able to anſwer all the expectations of the Engliſh and the Scotch. The firſt of theſe pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly perſuade myſelf to be true, because I knew very certainly, that I had

never given his royal highneſs the leaſt occaſion for ſuch prejudices: the ſecond was a work which might ſpin out into a great and uncertain length. I took my reſolution to drive what related to myſelf to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate deciſion; not to ſuffer any excuſe for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the ſalvation, if I could hinder it, of ſo many gallant men, as were in arms in Scotland, to reſt on the ſucceſs of ſuch womaniſh projects. I ſhall tell you what I did on the firſt head now, and what I did on the ſecond hereafter in it's proper place.

THE

THE fact, which it was ſaid the regent laid to my charge, was a correſpondence with lord STAIR, and having been one night at his houſe, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As ſoon as I got hold of this, I deſired the marſhal of BERWIC to go to him. The marſhal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned, to hear in general, that I lay under his diſpleaſure; that a ſtory, which it was ſaid he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the juſtice, which he could deny to no man, of having the accuſation proved, in which caſe I was contented to paſs for the laſt of human-kind; or of being juſti-

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fied, if it could not be proved. He anſwered, that ſuch a ſtory had been related to him by ſuch perſons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been ſince convinced, that it was falſe, and that I ſhould be ſatisfied of his regard for me: but that, he muſt own, he was very uneaſy to find that I, who could apply to him through the marſhal D'HUXELLES, could chuſe to treat with Mrs. TRANT, and the reſt; for he named all the cabal, except his ſecretary, whom I had never met at mademoiſelle CHAUSSERY's. He added that theſe people teiſed him, at my inſtigation, to death; and that they were not fit to be truſted with any buſineſs. He ap-

applied to ſome of them the ſevereſt epithets: The marſhal of BERWIC replied, that he was ſure I ſhould receive the whole of what he had been pleaſed to ſay with the greateſt ſatisfaction; that I had treated with thoſe perſons much againſt my will; and finally, that if his royal highneſs would not employ them, he was ſure I would never apply to them. In a converſation which I had, not long after, with him, he ſpoke to me in much the ſame terms as he had done to the marſhal. I went from him very ill edified as to his intentions of doing any thing in favor of the chevalier; but I carried away with me this ſatisfaction, that he had

assigned me, from his own mouth, the person through whom I should make my applications to him, and through whom I should depend on receiving his answers; that he had disavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

Before I resume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make some reflection upon what I have been last saying to you. When I met with the duke of Ormond at his return from the coast, he thought himself obliged to say something to excuse his keeping me out of a secret, which during his absence

I had been let into. His excuse was, that the regent had exacted from him that I should know nothing of the matter. You will observe, that the account which I have given you seems to contradict this assertion of his grace, since it is hard to suppose, that, if the regent had exacted that I should be kept out of the secret, these women would have dared to have let me into it; and since it is still harder to suppose, that the regent would make this express condition with the duke of ORMOND, and the moment the duke's back was turned, would suffer these women to teise him from me, and to bring me answers from him. I am, however, far

from taxing the duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make ſuch a condition with him: and I will tell you how I underſtand all this little management; which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valor, has joined all the irreſolution of temper poſſible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the leaſt capable of ſaying no to your face. From hence it happened, that theſe women, like multitudes of other people, forced him to ſay and do enough to give them the air of having credit with him, and of being truſted by him. This drew in the duke of ORMOND, who is not, I dare ſay, as yet undeceived. The

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regent never intended from the firſt, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favor of the jacobite cauſe. His intereſt was plainly on the other ſide, and he ſaw it. But then the ſame weakneſs in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle GASTON in the ſame caſe, to keep meaſures with the chevalier. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the duke of ORMOND: but it carried him no farther. I queſtion not but he did, on this occaſion, what you muſt have obſerved many men to do. We not only endeavour to impoſe on the world, but even on ourſelves. We diſguiſe our weakneſs, and work up in our minds an opi-

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nion, that the meaſure, which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of ſome other virtue. Thus the regent, who ſaw the duke of ORMOND, becauſe he could not reſiſt the importunity of OLIVE TRANT, and who gave hopes to the duke, becauſe he can refuſe no body, made himſelf believe that it was a great ſtrain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am perſuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reaſon of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the duke of ORMOND,

of

of his affecting a perſonal diſ-like of me, and of his avoiding any correſpondence with me upon theſe matters; till I forced myſelf in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a diſtance without departing from his firſt principle, that of keeping meaſures with every body. He then threw me, or let me ſlide if you will, into the hands of theſe women; and when he found that I preſſed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands, and put me back again into the proper channel of buſineſs; where I had not been long, as you will ſee by and by, before the ſcene of amuſement was finiſhed.

SIR JOHN ARESKINE told me, when he came from the first audience that he had of his royal highness, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the earl of MAR to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir JOHN let drop to me. If the fact be true, you see that the scotch general had been amused by him with a witness. The english general was so in his turn; and while this was doing, the regent might think it best to have him to himself. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the mass of the coun-

country, than the duke, tho this court had been at firſt a ſtrange country to me in compariſon of the former.

An infinity of little circumſtances concurred to make me form this opinion, ſome of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not preſent to my memory. That which had the greateſt weight with me, and which is, I think, deciſive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of Ormond, on the expreſs condition that I ſhould know nothing of the matter; two * perſons of the firſt rank

* Marſhal D'Huxelles, marquis D'Ef-

and

and greateſt credit in this court, when I made the moſt preſſing inſtances to them in favor of the chevalier, threw out in converſation to me, that I ſhould attach myſelf to the duke of ORLEANS, that in my circumſtances I might want him, and that he might have occaſion for me. Something was intimated of penſions, and eſtabliſhment, and of making my peace at home. I would not underſtand this language, becauſe I would not break with the people who held it: and when they ſaw that I would not take the hints, they ceaſed to give them.

FIAT: twenty five thouſand pounds offered by the laſt.

I FAN-

I FANCY that you ſee by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confeſs, able to explain to you thoſe of the duke of ORMOND's: I cannot ſo much as gueſs at them. When he came into France I was careful to ſhew him all the friendſhip, and all the reſpect poſſible. My friends were his, my purſe was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all thoſe things which touch moſt ſenſibly people who have been uſed to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his levee with aſſiduity. In return to this behaviour, which was the pure effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no

obligation that I had to him, impoſed upon me; I have great reaſon to ſuſpect, that he went at leaſt half way in all which was ſaid or done againſt me. He threw himſelf blindly into the ſnare which was laid for him; and, inſtead of hindering, as he and I, in concert, might have done, thoſe affairs from languiſhing, in the manner they did ſeveral months, he furniſhed this court with an excuſe for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a ſaving game; and he neither drove the regent to aſſiſt the chevalier, nor to declare that he would not aſſiſt him; tho it was fatal to the cauſe in ge-
 neral,

neral, and to the Scotch in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

It was christmas one thousand seven hundred and fifteen before the chevalier sailed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the business of Preston was over: there remained not the least room to expect any commotion in his favor among the English; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cause. No prospect of success could engage him in this expedition: but it was become necessary for his reputation. The Scotch on one side spared not to reproach him,

I think unjustly, for his delay; and the French, on the other, were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of those who knew little of british affairs imagined, that his presence would produce miraculous effects. You must not be surprised at this. As near neighbours as we are,—ninety nine in an hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inside of our island, as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneasy to see him skulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the earl of STAIR. Others again imagined, that he might do their business by going into Scotland, tho he should not

not do his own: that is, they flattered themſelves, that he might keep a war for ſome time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, whilſt they affected the greateſt friendſhip to the king, and whilſt they really did deſire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. Whilſt the pretender continued in France they could neither avow him, nor favor his cauſe: if he once ſet his foot on Scotch

ground, they gave hopes of in-direct aſſiſtance: and if he could maintain himſelf in any cor-ner of the iſland, they could look upon him, * it was ſaid, as a king. This was their lan-guage to us. To the britiſh miniſter they denied, they for-ſwore, they renounced; and yet the † man of the beſt head in all their councils, being aſk-ed by lord STAIR what they in-tended to do, anſwered before he was aware, that they pre-tended to be neuters. I leave you to judge, how this ſhip was taken up.

* Diſcourſe of Abbé D'ESTREES, after-wards archbiſhop of Cambray.

† Marq. D'HUXELLES.

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As ſoon as I received advice that the chevalier was ſailed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument which my underſtanding could ſuggeſt to me. What the duke of ORMOND reſted upon, you have ſeen already: and I doubt very much whether lord MAR, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ meaſures more effectual than thoſe which I made uſe of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare myſelf on this occaſion with his lordſhip, ſince there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of

capacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the business which he was a spectator of, and which I carried on, when we were secretaries of state together under the late queen.

The king of FRANCE, who was not able to furnish the pretender with money himself, had writ some time before his death to his grandson, and had obtained a promise of four hundred thousand crowns from the king of SPAIN. A small part of this sum had been received by the queen's treasurer at St. Germain's, and had been either sent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expences which were

were daily making on the coaſt. I preſſed the ſpaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, I ſolicited, by LAWLESS, ALBERONI at Madrid; and I found * another more private and more promiſing way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the iriſh troops, which ſerve in that country; their routs were given them, and I ſent a ſhip to receive and tranſport them. The money came in ſo ſlowly, and in ſuch trifling ſums, that it turned to little account; and the officers were on their way when the chevalier returned from Scotland.

* Marquis MONTI.

In the ſummer, endeavours had been uſed to prevail on the king of SWEDEN to tranſport, from Gottenburg, the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excuſed himſelf, not becauſe he diſliked the propoſition, which, on the contrary, he thought agreeable to his intereſt: but for reaſons of another kind. Firſt, becauſe the troops at hand for this ſervice conſiſted in horſe, not in foot, which had been aſked, and which were alone proper for ſuch an expedition: ſecondly, becauſe a declaration of this ſort might turn the proteſtant princes of the empire, from whoſe offices he had ſtill ſome proſpect of

of aſſiſtance, againſt him: and thirdly, becauſe altho he knew that the king of GREAT BRITAIN was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet a while openly enough againſt him to juſtify ſuch a rupture. At the time I am ſpeaking of, theſe reaſons were removed by the king of SWEDEN's being beat out of the empire, by the little conſequence which his management of the proteſtant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made. I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He ſpoke fair to the baron de SPAR, who preſſed him

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on his ſide, as I preſſed him on mine, and promiſed, beſides the arrears of the ſubſidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thouſand crowns for the enterpriſe on Britain. He kept the officer, who was to be diſpatched, I know not how long booted; ſometimes on pretence, that in the low ſtate of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the ſum, and ſometimes on other pretences; and by theſe delays he evaded his promiſe. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops. Arms, ammunition, and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in ſome de-

degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpoſe was it to connive, when by a multitude of little tricks they avoided furniſhing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furniſh ourſelves with them? I had formed the deſign of engaging french privateers in the pretender's ſervice. They were to have carried whatever we ſhould have had to ſend to any part of Britain in their firſt voyage, and after that, to have cruiſed under his commiſſion. I had actually agreed for ſome, and it was in my power to have made the ſame bargains with others. Sweden on one ſide, and Scotland on the other, would

would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this deſign would have been of the greateſt advantage to the pretender. It failed, becauſe no other part of the work went on. He was not above ſix weeks in his ſcotch expedition, and theſe were the things I endeavoured to bring to bear in his abſence. I had no great opinion of my ſucceſs before he went; but when he had made the laſt ſtep which it was in his power to make, I reſolved to ſuffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the ſcandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious

to

to enter into a longer narrative of all the uſeleſs pains I took. To conclude therefore; in a converſation which I had with the M. D'HUXELLES, I took occaſion to declare, that I would not be the inſtrument of amuſing the Scotch; and that ſince I was able to do them no other ſervice, I would at leaſt inform them, that they muſt flatter themſelves no longer with hopes of ſuccour from France. I added, that I would ſend them veſſels, which with thoſe already on the coaſt of Scotland might ſerve to bring off the pretender, the earl of MAR, and as many others as poſſible. The marſhal approved my reſolution, and adviſed me to execute it

it as the only thing which was left to do. On this occasion he shewed no reserve, he was very explicite; and yet in this very point of time, the promise of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained, from the regent, for delivering those stores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the chevalier, and which had been put into the french magazines when Sir GEORGE BYNG came to Havre. CASTEL BLANCO is a Spaniard who married a daughter of lord MELFORD, and who under that title set up for a medler in english business. I cannot justly tell whether the honor of obtaining this promise was ascribed to him, to

to the junto in the bois de Boulogne, or to any one else. I suppose they all assumed a share of the merit. The project was, that these stores should be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO; that he should enter into a recognisance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the West Indies; that I should provide a vessel for this purpose, which he should appear to hire or buy; and that when she was at sea she should sail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but, accustomed to concur in measures, the inutility of which I saw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewise. The

necessary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ship was ready to sail, and no suspicion of her belonging to the chevalier, or of her destination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the dispatches which I prepared and sent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himself in the mountains without the succours he demanded from France. But from France, I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the least part of them. In short,

ſhort, I concealed nothing from him. This was all I could do to put the chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what meaſures to take: but theſe diſpatches never came to his hands. He was ſailed from Scotland juſt before the gentleman, whom I ſent, arrived on the coaſt. He landed at Graveline about the twenty ſecond of February; and the firſt orders he gave, were to ſtop all the veſſels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I SAW him the morning after his arrival at St. Germains, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as ſoon as we

heard of his return, to acquaint the french court with it. They were not a little uneasy; and the first thing which the M. D'HUXELLES said to me upon it was, that the chevalier ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence possible, and to take possession of his former asylum before the duke of LORRAIN had time to desire him to look out for a residence some where else. Nothing more was meaned by this proposal, than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. I was not in my mind averse to it for other reasons. Nothing could be more disadvantageous to him than to be obliged to pass the Alpes, or to reside in the papal ter-

territory on this ſide of them. Avignon was already named for his retreat in common converſation; and I know not whether from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined, that by ſurpriſing the duke of LORRAIN we ſhould furniſh that prince with an excuſe to the king, and to the emperor; that we might draw the matter into length, and gain time to negotiate ſome other retreat, than that of Avignon, for the chevalier. The duke's good will there was no room to doubt of; and by what the prince of VAUDEMONT told me at Paris ſome time afterwards, I am apt to think we ſhould have ſucceeded. In all

events it could not be wrong to try every meaſure, and the pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the ſight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

I FOUND him in no diſpoſition to make ſuch haſte: he had a mind, on the contrary, to ſtay ſome time at St. Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He ſent me back to Paris to ſolicit this meeting. I writ, I ſpoke to the marſhal D'HUXELLES, I did my beſt to ſerve him in his own way. The marſhal anſwered me by word of mouth, and by letter.

ter. He refused me by both. I remember he added this circumstance, that he found the regent in bed, and acquainted him with what the chevalier desired; that the regent rose up in a passion, said that the things which were asked were puerilities, and swore that he would not see him. I returned without having been able to succeed in my commission: and, I confess, I thought the want of success on this occasion no great misfortune.

It was two or three o'clock on the sunday or monday morning when I parted from the pretender. He acquiesced in the determination of the regent,

and declared that he would inſtantly ſet out for Lorrain: his trunks were packed, his chaiſe was ordered to be at the door at five, and I ſent to Paris to acquaint the miniſter that he was gone. He aſked me how ſoon I ſhould be able to follow him, gave me commiſſions for ſome things, which he deſired I ſhould bring after him; and, in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to ſtab, with greater ſhew of affection and confidence.

INSTEAD of taking poſt for Lorrain, he went to the little houſe in the bois de Boulogne, where his female miniſters reſided; and there he continued

lurk-

lurking for ſeveral days, and pleaſing himſelf with the air of myſtery and buſineſs, whilſt the only real buſineſs, which he ſhould have had at that time, lay neglected. He ſaw the ſpaniſh and ſwediſh miniſters in this place. I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth aſking, whether he ſaw the duke of ORLEANS: poſſibly he might. To have been teiſed into ſuch a ſtep, which ſignified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his royal highneſs's character.

THE thurſday following the duke of ORMOND came to ſee me, and after the compliment of

telling me, that he believed I ſhould be ſurpriſed at the meſſage he brought, he put into my hands a note to himſelf, and a little ſcrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the ſtyle of a juſtice of peace's warrant. They were both in the chevalier's hand-writing, and they were dated on the tueſday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and ſent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our converſation, with great dexterity, all the inſinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his maſter was not gone; ſo that he gave me two very riſible ſcenes, which are frequently to be met with when

when ſome people meddle in buſineſs; I mean that of ſeeing a man labor with a great deal of aukward artifice to make a ſecret of a nothing, and that of ſeeing yourſelf taken for a bubble when you know as much of the matter, as he who thinks that he impoſes on you.

I CANNOT recollect preciſely the terms of the two papers. I remember that the kingly laconic ſtyle of one of them, and the expreſſion of having no farther occaſion for my ſervice, made me ſmile. The other was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which might have been contained in a letter-caſe of a moderate ſize. I gave

gave the duke the ſeals, and ſome papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all ſuch as I had not deſtroyed, I ſent afterwards to the chevalier: and I took care to convey to him, by a ſafe hand, ſeveral of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke ſhould have ſeen. I am ſurpriſed that he did not reflect on the conſequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have ſhewn his general what an opinion the chevalier had of his capacity. I ſcorned the trick; and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without ſcruple, all the papers which remained in my

my hands, becauſe I was determined never to make uſe of them; ſo I confeſs to you, that I took a ſort of pride in never aſking for thoſe of mine which were in the pretender's hands: I contented myſelf with making the duke underſtand how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who had made the bargain which I had done at my engagement; and with taking this firſt opportunity to declare, that I would never more have to do with the pretender or his cauſe.

THAT I might avoid being queſtioned and quoted in the moſt curious and the moſt babling town in the world, I related what

what had paſſed to three or four of my friends, and hardly ſtirred abroad, during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the marſhal of BERWIC came to ſee me, and aſked me what I meaned, to confine my ſelf to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the moſt infamous ſtories were ſpread concerning me. This was the firſt notice I had, and it was ſoon followed by others. I appeared immediately in the world, and found there was hardly a ſcurrilous tongue which had not been let looſe on my ſubject; and that thoſe perſons, whom the duke

of ORMOND and earl of MAR muſt influence, or might ſilence, were the loudeſt in defaming me.

PARTICULAR inſtances wherein I had failed were cited ; and, as it was the faſhion for every jacobite to affect being in the ſecret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very few perſons.

THIS method, of beating down the reputation of a man by noiſe and impudence, impoſed on the world at firſt, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and ſtaggered even my friends. But it ceaſed in a few days

days to have any effect againſt me. The malice was too groſs to paſs upon reflection. Theſe ſtories died away almoſt as faſt as they were publiſhed, for this very reaſon, becauſe they were particular.

THEY gave out, for inſtance, that I had taken to my own uſe a very great ſum of the chevalier's money, when it was notorious that I had ſpent a great ſum of my own in his ſervice; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing: in which caſe, I believe, I was ſingle. Upon this head it was eaſy to appeal to a very honeſt gentleman, the queen's treaſurer at St. Germains, through whoſe hands, and

and not through mine, went the very little money which the chevalier had.

THEY gave out, that whilſt he was in Scotland he never heard from me, tho it was notorious that I ſent him no leſs than five expreſſes during the ſix weeks which he conſumed in this expedition. It was eaſy, on this head, to appeal to the perſons, to whom my diſpatches had been committed.

THESE lies, and many others of the ſame ſort, which were founded on particular facts, were diſproved by particular facts, and had not time, at leaſt at Paris, to make any impreſſion. But the principal crime, with which

which they charged me then, and the only one which ſince that time they have inſiſted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accuſation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing ſeveral facts, comparing theſe facts together, and reaſoning upon them: nay, that which is worſe, is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of ſome facts, which, in my preſent circumſtances, it would not be very prudent, tho I ſhould think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You ſee that I mean the ſtarving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been ſupported, and might have ſucceeded

ceeded too, if I had procured the succours which were asked, nay, if I had sent a little powder. This the jacobites, who affect moderation and candor, shrug their shoulders at: they are sorry for it, but lord BOLINGBROKE can never wash himself clean of this guilt; for these succours might have been obtained: and a proof that they might, is, that they were so by others. These people leave the cause of this mismanagement doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the false charity and real malice of one who sets up for devotion, attributes all his misfortunes to my negligence.

THE letters which were writ by my secretary, above a year ago, into England; the marginal notes which have been made since to the letter from Avignon; and what is said above, have set this affair in so clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, must feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make some observations on the same subject here. It is even necessary that I should do so in the design of making this discourse the foundation of my justification to the tories at present, and to the whole world in time.

THERE is nothing which my ene-

enemies apprehend ſo much as my juſtification: and they have reaſon. But they may comfort themſelves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will accompany me to my grave, that I ſuffered a chain of accidents to draw me into ſuch meaſures and ſuch company; that I have been obliged to defend myſelf againſt ſuch accuſations and ſuch accuſers; that, by aſſociating with ſo much folly, and ſo much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was diſtreſſed by the former, when the latter would have been leſs grievous to me, ſince it is much better in buſineſs to be yoked to knaves than fools; and that

 I put

I put into their hands the means of loading me, like the ſcape-goat, with all the evil conſequences of their folly.

In the firſt letters which I received from the earl of Mar, he writ for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things frankly, as if theſe things had been ready, and I had engaged to ſupply him with them, before he ſet up the ſtandard at the brae of Mar: whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordſhip; and you have ſeen that I did all I could to prevent his reckoning on any aſſiſtance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreaſed, his

his lordſhip roſe in his demands: and at the time when it was viſible that the regent intended nothing leſs than even privately and indirectly to ſupport the Scotch, the pretender and the earl of MAR writ for regular forces and a train of artillery; which was in effect to inſiſt that France ſhould enter into a war for them. I might, in anſwer to the firſt inſtances, have aſked lord MAR, what he did in Scotland? and what he meaned by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time, or at leaſt upon this foot? He; who had dictated not long before a memorial, wherein it was aſſerted, that to have a proſpect of ſucceeding in this enter-

prise there must be an universal insurrection, and that such an insurrection was in no sort probable, unless a body of troops was brought to support [illegible]? He, who thought that the consequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, must be the utter ruin of the cause, and the loss of the british liberty? He, who concurred in demanding as a pis-aller, and the least which could be insisted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers? I[illegible]y, I might have asked what he meant to begin the dance when he had not the least assurance of any succour, but, on the contrary, the greatest reason imaginable to believe this affair was become as

desperate abroad by the death of the most christian king, as it was at home by the discovery of the design, and by the measures taken to defeat it ?.

INSTEAD of acting this part, which would have been wise, I took that which was plausible. I resolved to contribute all I could to support the business, since it was begun. I encouraged his lordship as long as I had the least ground for doing so; and I confirmed the pretender in his resolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left him to do. If I have any thing to reproach myself with, in the whole progress of the war in Scotland, it is

having encouraged lord MAR too long. But on the other hand, if I had given up the cauſe, and had writ deſpondingly to him, before this court had explained itſelf as fully as the marſhal D'HUXELLES did in the converſation which is mentioned above, it is eaſy to ſee what turn would have been given to ſuch a conduct.

THE true cauſe of all the miſfortunes which happened to the Scotch, and to thoſe who took arms in the north of England, lies here; that they roſe without any previous certainty of foreign help, in direct contradiction to the ſcheme which their leaders themſelves had formed.

formed. The excuse which I have heard made for this, is that the act of parliament for curbing the highlanders was near to be put in execution; that they would have been disarmed, and entirely disabled from rising at any other time, if they had not rose at this. You can judge better than I of the validity of this excuse. It seems to me, that by management they might have gained time, and that even when they had been reduced to the dilemma supposed, they ought to have got together under pretence of resisting the infractions of the union, without any mention of the pretender, and have treated with the government on

on this foot. By theſe means they might probably have preſerved themſelves in a condition of avowing their deſign when they ſhould be ſure of being backed from abroad: at the worſt they might have declared for the chevalier when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this excuſe not to be very good, and the true reaſon of this conduct to have been the raſhneſs of the people, and the inconſiſtent meaſures of their head.

But admitting the excuſe to be valid, it remains ſtill an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all

all thoſe waters of bitterneſs flowed, which ſo many unhappy people have drunk of. I have ſaid already, that the neceſſity of acting was precipitated before any meaſures to act with ſucceſs had been taken; and that the neceſſity of doing ſo ſeemed to increaſe as the means of doing ſo were taken away. To whom is this to be aſcribed? Is it to be aſcribed to me, who had no ſhare in theſe affairs till a few weeks before the duke of ORMOND was forced to abandon England, and the diſcovery of the intended invaſion was publiſhed to parliament and to the world? or is it to be aſcribed to thoſe who had from the

the firſt been at the head of this undertaking?

UNABLE to defend this point, the next reſort of the jacobites is to this impudent and abſurd affirmation, that, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they took arms, they ſhould have ſucceeded, if the indirect aſſiſtances, which were aſked from France, had been obtained: nay, that they ſhould have been able to defend the highlands, if we had ſent them a little powder. Is it poſſible that a man ſhould be wounded with ſuch blunt weapons? Much more than powder was aſked for from the firſt; and I have already ſaid, that when

when the chevalier came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, &c. were demanded. Both he and the earl of MAR judged it impoſſible to ſtand their ground without ſuch aſſiſtance as theſe. How ſcandalous then muſt it be deemed, that they ſuffer their dependents to ſpread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The earl of MAR knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to ſtay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another ſecurity: and when that failed him, he muſt have quitted the party, if the regent had

given

given us all that he made ſome of us expect.

BUT to finiſh all that I intend to ſay on a ſubject which has tired me, and perhaps you: the jacobites affirm that the indirect aſſiſtances, which they deſired, might have been obtained: and I confeſs, that I am inexcuſable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have ſpoken ſo often. I affirm, on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to ſupport the Scotch, or to encourage the Engliſh. To prove the aſſertion, I appeal to the miniſters with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himſelf, who, what-

whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more eaſily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me ſince, that he might excuſe his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true; that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly againſt his intereſt in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and againſt the unanimous ſenſe of all his miniſters. Suppoſe that in the time of the late queen, when ſhe had the peace in view, a party in France had im-

implored her assistance, and had applied to MARGERY FIELDING, to ISRAEL, to my lady OGLETHORPE, to Dr. BATTLE, and lieutenant general STEWART; what success do you imagine such applications would have had? The queen would have spoke them fair, she would speak otherwise to no body: but do you imagine she would have made one step in their favor? OLIVE TRANT, MAGNY, mademoiselle CHAUSSERY, a dirty abbé BRIGAULT, and Mr. DILLON, are characters very apposite to these; and what I suppose to have passed in England is not a whit more ridiculous than what really passed here.

I SAY nothing of the ſhips, which the jacobites pretend that they ſent into Scotland three weeks or a month after the pretender was returned. I believe they might have had my lord STAIR's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I ſay nothing of the order, which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never ſaw, for the ſtores that were ſeiſed at Havre to be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO. I have already ſaid enough on this head, and you cannot have failed to obſerve, that this ſignal favour was never obtained by theſe people till the marſhal D'HUXELLES had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France,

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and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the pretender, the earl of MAR, and the principal persons who were most exposed, off: neither he nor I imagining that any such would be left behind.

WHEN I began to appear in the world, upon the advertisements which my friends gave me of the clamor that was raised against me, you will easily think I did not enter into so many particulars as I have done with you. I said even less, than you have seen, in those letters which BRINSDEN writ into England, in March and April was twelve month; and yet the clamor

ſunk immediately. The people of conſideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germains grew ſo aſhamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herſelf of having had any ſhare in encouraging the diſcourſes which were held againſt me, or having been ſo much as let into the ſecret of the meaſure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I reſolved to act without paſſion. I ſaw the advantage the pretender and his council, who diſpoſed of things better for me than I ſhould have done for myſelf, had given me: but I ſaw likewiſe, that I muſt improve this advantage with the utmoſt caution.

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the manner he did, nor that his ministers could be weak enough to advise him to it; I had resolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his residence should be fixed somewhere or other: after which, having served the tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power, and having continued to act in the pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I should have esteemed myself to be at liberty, and should in the civilest manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted

parted thus, I ſhould have remained in a very ſtrange ſituation during the reſt of my life: but I had examined myſelf thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

On one ſide he would have thought that he had a ſort of right on any future occaſion to call me out of my retreat; the tories would probably have thought the ſame thing: my reſolution was taken to refuſe them both, and I foreſaw, that both would condemn me. On the other ſide, the conſideration of his keeping meaſures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of ho-

nor, by which I ſhould have been tied down, not only from ever engaging againſt him, but alſo from making my peace at home. The chevalier cut this gordian knot aſunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had faſtened on me, and gave me a right to eſteem myſelf as free from all obligations of keeping meaſures with him, as I ſhould have continued if I had never engaged in his intereſt. I took therefore, from that moment, the reſolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and

to

to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

THE earl of STAIR had received a full power to treat with me whilſt I was engaged with the pretender, as I have been ſince informed. He had done me the juſtice to believe me incapable to hearken, in ſuch circumſtances, to any propoſals of that kind: and, as much friendſhip as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the leaſt even indirect correſpondence together during that whole time. Soon afterwards he employed a perſon * to communicate to me the diſpoſition of his ma-

* SALADIN of Geneva, then at Paris.

jesty to grant me my pardon, and his own desire to give me, on this occasion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favor. I embraced the offer, as it became me to do, with all possible sense of the king's goodness, and of his lordship's friendship †. We met, we talked together, and he wrote to the court on the subject. The turn which the ministers gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverse my attainder, and to stipulate the conditions on which this act of grace should be granted me.

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the earl of STAIR to Mr. CRAGGS, giving a full account of the transaction here mentioned.

THE

THE notion of a treaty ſhocked me. I reſolved never to be reſtored, rather than go that way to work; and I opened my ſelf without any reſerve to lord STAIR. I told him, that I looked on myſelf to be obliged in honor and in conſcience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the ſtate of foreign affairs, as to the management of the jacobite intereſt abroad, and as to the characters of perſons; in every one of which points I knew them to be moſt groſsly and moſt dangerouſly deluded: that the treatment I had received from the pretender and his adherents would juſtify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile

exile all my life, he might be aſſured, that I would never more have to do with the jacobite cauſe; and that if I was reſtored, I ſhould give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the pretender has put me under a neceſſity of making: that in doing this I flattered myſelf that I ſhould contribute ſomething to the eſtabliſhment of the king's government, and to the union of his ſubjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promiſe to have: that if the court believed theſe profeſſions to be ſincere, a treaty with me was unneceſſary for them; and that if they did not believe them ſo, a treaty with them was dan-

dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole tranſaction to make no one ſtep which I would not own in the face of the world; that in other circumſtances it might be ſufficient to act honeſtly, but that in a caſe as extraordinary as mine, it was neceſſary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the leaſt doubtful conſtruction.

The earl of STAIR, as well as Mr. CRAGGS, who arrived ſoon after in France, came into my ſenſe. I have reaſon to believe, that the king has approved it likewiſe upon their repreſentations, ſince he has been pleaſed to give me the moſt gracious aſſurances of his favor.

favor. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other ſeſſion, I know not: but this is the foot on which I have put myſelf, and on which I ſtand at the moment I write to you. The whigs may continue inveterate, and by conſequence fruſtrate his majeſty's good intentions towards me; the tories may continue to rail at me, on the credit of ſuch enemies as I have deſcribed to you in the courſe of this relation: neither the one nor the other ſhall make me ſwerve out of the path which I have traced to myſelf.

I HAVE now led you through the ſeveral ſtages which I propoſed

posed at first; and I should do wrong to your good understanding, as well as to our mutual friendship, if I suspected that you could hold any other language to me than that which DOLABELLA uses to CICERO: "Satisfactum est jam a te vel "officio vel familiaritati; sa-"tisfactum etiam partibus." The king, who pardons me, might complain of me, the whigs might declaim against me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have shewn to my own and to their interests; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party and towards my friends? In what part of my conduct will

the tories find an excuſe for the treatment which they have given me? As tories, ſuch as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the ſore, and, tender as it is, I muſt lay it open. Thoſe amongſt them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they profeſſed themſelves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were tories then, they are jacobites now. Their objections to the courſe of my conduct whilſt I was in the pretender's intereſt are the pretence; the true reaſon of their anger is, that I renounce the pretender for my life. When you were firſt driven into

into this intereſt, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of reſtoring him by the ſtrength of the tories, and of oppoſing a tory king to a whig king. You took him up as the inſtrument of your revenge and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleaſed with him. This is ſo true, that the ſame language is ſtill held to the catechumens in jacobitiſm. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would ſoon diminiſh. I engaged on this principle when your orders ſent me to Com-

mercy;

mercy, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards the tories; and it would have been so if they had continued in the same dispositions. But they are changed, and this very thing is become my crime. Instead of making the pretender their tool, they are his. Instead of having in view to restore him on their own terms, they are laboring to do it without any terms; that is, to speak properly, they are ready to receive him on his. Be not deceived: there is not a man on this side of the water who acts in any other manner. The church-of-England jacobite and the irish papist seem

ſeem in every reſpect to have the ſame cauſe.. Thoſe on your ſide of the water, who correſpond with theſe, are to be comprehended in the ſame claſs: and from hence it is, that the clamor raiſed againſt me has been kept up with ſo much induſtry, and is redoubled on the leaſt appearance of my return home, and of my being in a ſituation to juſtify myſelf.

You have ſeen already what reaſons the pretender, and the ſeveral ſorts of people who compoſe his party here, had to get rid of me,. and to cover me to the utmoſt of their power with infamy. Their views were as ſhort in this caſe, as they are in

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in all others. They did not ſee at firſt, that this conduct would not only give me a right, but put me under a neceſſity of keeping no farther meaſures with them, and of laying the whole myſtery of their iniquity open. As ſoon as they diſcovered this, they took the only courſe which was left them, that of poiſoning the minds of the tories, and of creating ſuch prejudices againſt me whilſt I remained in a condition of not ſpeaking for myſelf, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may ſay when I am in a condition of pleading my own cauſe. The bare apprehenſion, that I ſhall ſhew the

the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among theſe men: and they hold themſelves ready, being unable to reply either in point of fact or in point of reaſon, to drown my voice in the confuſion of their clamor.

THE only crimes I am guilty of, I own. I own the crime of having been for the pretender in a very different manner from thoſe, with whom I acted. I ſerved him as faithfully, I ſerved him as well as they; but I ſerved him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being reſolved never to

have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined sooner or later, as soon as I can, to clear myself of all the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me; to undeceive by my experience as many as I can of those tories who may have been drawn into error; and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able, to promote the national good of Britain without any other regard. These crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dye. You may come, perhaps, to think them virtues, when you have read and considered what remains to be

said;

ſaid; for before I conclude, it is neceſſary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in ſooner without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing elſe, it will have, as it deſerves to have, your whole attention.

WHOEVER compoſed that curious piece of falſe fact, falſe argument, falſe engliſh, and falſe eloquence, the letter from Avignon, ſays, that I was not thought the moſt proper perſon to ſpeak about religion. I confeſs I ſhould be of his mind, and ſhould include his patrons in my caſe, if the practice of it was to be re-

commended: for ſurely it is unpardonable impudence to impoſe by precept what we do not teach by example. I ſhould be of the ſame mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if it's myſteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be eſtabliſhed, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine, and in wiſdom of diſcipline. But nothing of this kind was neceſſary. This would have been the taſk of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do, than to lay in our claim that we could never ſubmit to be governed by

by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of ſome effect towards opening the eyes and diſpoſing the mind even of the pretender. At leaſt, in juſtice to ourſelves, and in juſtice to our party, we who were here ought to have made it; and the influence of it on the pretender ought to have become the rule of our ſubſequent conduct.

In thinking in this manner I think no otherwiſe now, than I have always thought: and I cannot forget, nor you neither, what paſſed when, a little before the death of the queen, letters were conveyed from the

chevalier to ſeveral perſons, to myſelf among others. In the letter to me, the article of religion was ſo aukwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to conſiſt in his firm reſolution to adhere to popery. The effect which this epiſtle had on me was the ſame which it had on thoſe tories to whom I communicated it at that time; it made us reſolve to have nothing to do with him.

Some time after this I was aſſured by ſeveral, and I make no doubt but others have been ſo too, that the chevalier at the bottom was not a bigot:

that whilſt he remained a-broad and could expect no ſuc-cour, either preſent or future, from any princes but thoſe of the roman catholic communi-on, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonſtration of a deſign to change: but that his temper was ſuch, and he was already ſo diſpoſed, that we might de-pend on his compliance with what ſhould be deſired of him, if ever he came amongſt us, and was taken from un-der the wing of the queen his mother. To ſtrengthen this o-pinion of his character, it was ſaid that he had ſent for Mr. LESLEY over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of Eng-

England service in his family; and that he had promised to hear what this divine should represent on the subject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the same things, and much more, were at first insinuated to me; and I began to let them make impression upon me, notwithstanding what I had seen under his hand. I would willingly flatter myself, that this impression disposed me to incline to jacobitism, rather than allow that the inclination to jacobitism disposed me easily to believe what, upon that principle, I had so much reason to wish might be true. Which was the cause, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they

they did mutually occasion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the solicitation of my friends and the persecution of my enemies precipitated me into engagements with the pretender.

I WAS willing to take it for granted, that since you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you must have had entire satisfaction on the article of religion. I was soon undeceived; this string had never been touched. My own observation, and the unanimous report of all those who from his infancy have approached the pretender's person,

ſon, ſoon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unſafe to embark without them.

His religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the deteſtation of vice; on a ſenſe of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being; and a ſenſe of thoſe obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependance on one another lie under. The ſpring of his whole conduct is fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind ſubmiſſion to the church of Rome, and a ſtrict ad-

adherence to all the terms of that communion, can ſave him from theſe dangers. He has all the ſuperſtition of a capuchin; but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I looſe the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my reſentments dictate: I tell you ſimply my opinion. I have heard the ſame deſcription of his character made by thoſe who know him beſt; and I converſed with very few among the roman catholics themſelves, who did not think him too much a papiſt.

NOTHING gave me, from the beginning, ſo much uneaſineſs

as the consideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the first steps which were made with him. The tories, who engaged afterwards, threw themselves as it were at his head. He had been suffered to think that the party in England wanted him as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in these sentiments, and when he thought the tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependance was at any time to be placed on the promises of a man

man capable of thinking his damnation attached to the observance, and his salvation to the breach of, these very promises. Something, however, was to be done: and I thought that the least which could be done was, to deal plainly with him, and to shew him the impossibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought too much by the duke of ORMOND and Mr. LESLIE; altho the duke could be no more ignorant than the minister, how ill the latter had been used, how far the chevalier had been from keeping the word

word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. LESLIE had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refuſed to hear himſelf, but that he ſheltered the ignorance of his prieſts, or the badneſs of his cauſe, or both, behind his authority, and abſolutely forbid all diſcourſe concerning religion. The duke ſeemed convinced that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he ſhould be reſtored, or, at ſooneſt, when he ſhould be landed in England; that, the influence under which he had lived being at a diſtance, the reaſonableneſs of what we might propoſe, joined to the apparent neceſſity which would

would then ſtare him in the face, could not fail to produce all the effects which we could deſire.

To me this whole reaſoning appeared fallacious. Our buſineſs was not to make him change appearances on this ſide of the water, but to prepare him to give thoſe which would be neceſſary on the other: and there was no room to hope that if we could gain nothing on his prejudices here, we ſhould be able to overcome them in Britain. I would have argued juſt as the duke of ORMOND and LESLIE, if I had been a papiſt; and I ſaw well enough that ſome people about him, for in a great dearth of abi-

lity there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all discourse of religion. To my apprehension it was exceeding plain that we should find, if we were once in England, the necessity of going forward at any rate with him much greater, than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous satisfaction had been obtained on a point, at least as essential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the state, as to the prosperity of the church: and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our silence was unfair, both

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to the chevalier, and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that they would exact far leſs from him, than we knew they expected: and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and ſhould never have been urged to me, who ſaw plainly, that, according to the meaſures purſued by the very perſons who urged it, he muſt be environed in England by the ſame people that ſurrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be conſtituted, if ever he was reſtored,

 in

in the ſame manner as that of St. Germains was.

WHEN the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be diſperſed in Great Britain, came to be ſettled, it appeared that my apprehenſion and diſtruſt were but too well founded. The pretender took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe, wherein a direct promiſe of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he ſaid, that he could not in conſcience make ſuch a promiſe: and, the debate being kept up a little while, he aſked me with ſome warmth, why the

the tories were so desirous to have him, if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow? I left these draughts, by his order, with him, that he might consider and amend them. I cannot say that he sent them to the queen to be corrected by her confessor and the rest of her council: but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time sufficient to do this; before he sent them from Bar, where he then was, to Paris, whither I was returned. When they were digested in such a manner as satisfied his casuists, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had

been ſigned by me. I had hitherto ſubmitted my opinion to the judgment of others; but on this occaſion I took advice from myſelf. I declared to him, that I would not ſuffer my name to be at the bottom of this paper. All the copies which came to my hands I burnt, and another was printed off, without any counterſigning.

THE whole tenor of the amendments was one continued inſtance of the groſſeſt bigotry; and the moſt material paſſages were turned with all the jeſuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his intereſt, at that time, to cultivate the reſpect which many of the tories

tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected as a farther mark of their opposition to the court, and to the whig party; as much as it was his interest to weave the honor of her name into his cause, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the dispute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make use of those expressions in speaking of her, which, by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of respect and words of form, proper in the style of public acts. For instance:

She was called in the original draught "his sister of glo- "rious and blessed memory." In that which he published, the epithet of "blessed" was left out. Her eminent justice and her exemplary piety were occasionally mentioned. In lieu of which he substituted a flat, and, in this case, an invidious expression, "her inclinations to "justice."

Not content with declaring her neither just nor pious in this world, he did little less than declare her damned in the other, according to the charitable principles of the church of Rome.

"When

"WHEN it pleaſed almighty "God to take her to himſelf," was the expreſſion uſed in ſpeaking of the death of the queen. This he eraſed, and inſtead thereof inſerted theſe words: "when it pleaſed almighty "God to put a period to her "life."

HE graciouſly allowed the univerſities to be nurſeries of loyalty; but did not think that it became him to ſtyle them "nur"ſeries of religion."

SINCE his father paſſes already for a ſaint, and ſince reports are encouraged of miracles which they ſuppoſe to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to paſs for

for a martyr: but he ſtruck out of the draught theſe words, "that bleſſed martyr who died "for his people," which were applied to king CHARLES the firſt, and would ſay nothing more of him than that "he fell "a ſacrifice to rebellion."

IN the clauſe which related to the churches of England and Ireland there was a plain and direct promiſe inſerted of "ef-"fectual proviſion for their ſe-"curity; and for their re-eſta-"bliſhment in all thoſe rights "which belong to them." This clauſe was not ſuffered to ſtand, but another was formed, where-in all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and no-

thing

thing was promiſed to the church of England but the ſecurity, and " re-eſtabliſhment of all " thoſe rights, privileges, immu- " nities, and poſſeſſions which " belong to her," and where- in he had already promiſed, by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to ſecure and " pro- " tect all her members."

I NEED make no comment on a proceeding ſo eaſy to be un- derſtood. The drift of theſe evaſions, and of this affected ob- ſcurity is obvious enough, at leaſt it will appear ſo by the ob- ſervations which remain to be made.

HE was ſo afraid of admit- ting any words which might be conſtrued into a promiſe of his con-

consenting to those things, which should be found necessary for the present or future security of our constitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to say, that he thought himself obliged to be solicitous for the prosperity of the church of England, the word prosperity was expunged; and we were left by this mental reservation to guess what he was sollicitous for. It could not be for her prosperity: that he had expunged. It must therefore be for her destruction, which in his language would have been styled, her conversion.

ANOTHER remarkable proof of the same kind is to be found

to-

towards the conclusion of the declaration. After having spoke of the peace and florishing estate of the kingdom, he was made to express his readiness to concert with the two houses such further measures, as should be thought necessary for securing the same to future generations. The design of this paragraph you see. He and his council saw it too, and therefore the word "securing" was laid aside, and the word "leaving" was inserted in lieu of it.

One would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been suffered to go abroad without any other precaution. But these papers

papers had been penned by protestants; and who could answer that there might not be still ground sufficient from the tenor of them to insist on every thing necessary for the security of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a priest of the scotch college, and the expressions had been measured so as to suit perfectly with the conduct which the chevalier intended to hold; so as to leave room to distinguish him, upon future occasions, with the help of a little pious sophistry, out of all the engagements which he seemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper

 into

into the world, and no promiſe of moment was to ſtand in the latter, unleſs qualified by a reference to the former. Thus the church was to be ſecured in the rights, &c. which belong to her. How? No otherwiſe than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promiſe? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but BELLARMINE, if he had been the chevalier's confeſſor, would have paſſed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favor of the church of Ireland, and a happy diſtinction found between ſecuring

ing that of England, and protecting her members. Many a useful project for the destruction of heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the see of Rome, has been established on a more slender foundation.

The same spirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwise to be confirmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay the general pardon is restrained and limited to the terms prescribed therein.

This is the account which I judged too important to be omitted, and which I chose to give you all together. I shall

surely

ſurely be juſtified at preſent in concluding, that the tories are groſsly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or elſe that they ſacrifice all, which ought to be eſteemed precious and ſacred among men, to their paſſions. In both theſe caſes I remain ſtill a tory, and am true to the party. In the firſt, I endeavour to undeceive you by an experience purchaſed at my expence and for your ſakes: in the ſecond, I endeavour to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, whilſt I lived amongſt you, the ruin of your country; and yet every ſtep, which you now make towards the reſtora-

tion you are ſo fond of, is a ſtep towards this ruin. No man of ſenſe, well informed, can ever go into meaſures for it, unleſs he thinks himſelf and his country in ſuch deſperate circumſtances, that nothing is left them but to chuſe of two ruins that which they like beſt.

The exile of the royal family, under Cromwell's uſurpation, was the principal cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of thoſe which have happened to the reſt of Europe, during more than half a century.

The two brothers, Charles and James, became then infect-
ed

ed with popery to ſuch degrees, as their different characters admitted of. CHARLES had parts; and his good underſtanding ſerved as an antidote to repel the poiſon. JAMES, the ſimpleſt man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poiſon met, in his compoſition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obſtinacy of temper proper to increaſe it's virulence, and to ſtrengthen it's effect. The firſt had always a wrong biaſs upon him: he connived at the eſtabliſhment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterwards diſturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe ſo often; but he went

no farther out of the way. The opposition of his parliaments, and his own reflections stopped him here. The prince and the people were indeed mutually jealous of one another, from whence much present disorder flowed, and the foundation of future evils was laid: but his good and his bad principles combating still together, he maintained, during a reign of more than twenty years, in some tolerable degree, the authority of the crown, and the florishing estate of the nation. The last, drunk with superstitious and even enthusiastic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin whilst he endeavoured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did as they

they could to ſave themſelves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked againſt them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he ſucceeded, we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight ſaved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the pretender's education has rendered him infinitely leſs fit than his uncle, and at leaſt as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no reſource in his underſtanding. Men of the beſt ſenſe find it hard to over-

come religious prejudices, which are of all the ſtrongeſt; but he is a ſlave to the weakeſt. The rod hangs like the ſword of DAMOCLES over his head, and he trembles before his mother and his prieſt. What, in the name of God, can any member of the church of England promiſe himſelf from ſuch a character? Are we by another revolution to return into the ſame ſtate from which we were delivered by the firſt? Let us take example from the roman catholics, who act very reaſonably in refuſing to ſubmit to a proteſtant prince. HENRY the fourth had at leaſt as good a title to the crown of France, as the pretender has to ours.

ours. His religion alone ſtood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not removed that obſtacle. Shall we ſubmit to a popiſh prince, who will no more imitate HENRY the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate thoſe ſhining qualities which rendered him the honeſteſt gentleman, the braveſt captain, and the greateſt prince of his age? Allow me to give a looſe to my pen for a moment on this ſubject. General benevolence, and univerſal charity ſeem to be eſtabliſhed in the goſpel as the diſtinguiſhing badges of chriſtianity. How it happens I cannot tell; but ſo it is, that in all ages of the church the pro-

fessors of christianity seem to have been animated by a quite contrary spirit. Whilst they were thinly scattered over the world, tolerated in some places, but established no where, their zeal often consumed their charity. Paganism, at that time the religion by law established, was insulted by many of them; the ceremonies were disturbed, the altars thrown down. As soon as by the favor of CONSTANTINE their numbers were increased, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began to employ the secular arm, not only against different religions, but against different sects which arose in their own religion. A

man

man may boldly affirm, that more blood has been ſhed in the diſputes between chriſtian and chriſtian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the perſecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conqueſts of the mahometan princes. From theſe they have received quarter, but never from one another. The chriſtian religion is actually tolerated among the mahometans, and the domes of churches and moſques ariſe in the ſame city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one ſect of chriſtians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in theſe later ages: what was practiſed for-

formerly has been taught since. Persecution has been reduced into system, and the disciples of the meek and humble JESUS have avowed a tyranny, which the most barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked subtilty of casuists has establish-ed breach of faith with those who differ from us, as a duty in opposition to faith; and murder itself has been made one of the means of salvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going those cruel lengths, which are authorised by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; tho CALVIN put a flaming sword on the title of a French edition of his Institutes with this motto,

motto, "Je ne suis point venu "mettre la paix, mais l'epée:" but I know likewise, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the most humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her measures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

Since then there is this inveterate rancor among christians, can any thing be more absurd, than for those of one persuasion to trust the supreme power, or any part of it, to those of another? Particularly, must it not be

be reputed madneſs in thoſe of our religion, to truſt themſelves in the hands of roman catholics? Muſt it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we ſhould? he, who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion againſt a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all ſorts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongſt them who think more generouſly, and whoſe morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the ſpirit of the prieſthood, in whoſe ſcale that ſcrap of a parable, "Compel them to come in," which they apply as they pleaſe, outweighs

weighs the whole decalogue. This will be the ſpirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and ſo much is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe.

DURING your laſt ſeſſion of parliament, it was expected that the whigs would attempt to repeal the occaſional bill. The ſame jealouſy continues: there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to aſk you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you muſt argue againſt the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this diſcourſe. No man ought to be truſted with

any ſhare of power under a government, who muſt, to act conſiſtently with himſelf, endeavour the deſtruction of that very government. Shall this propoſition paſs for true when it is applied to keep a preſbyterian from being mayor of a corporation, and ſhall it become falſe, when it is applied to keep a papiſt from being king? The propoſition is equally true in both caſes; but the argument drawn from it is juſt ſo much ſtronger in the latter, than in the former caſe, as the miſchiefs, which may reſult from the power and influence of a king, are greater than thoſe which can be wrought by a magiſtrate of the loweſt order.

This

This seems to my apprehension to be argumentum ad hominem, and I do not see by what happy distinction a jacobite tory could elude the force of it.

It may be said, and it has been urged to me, that if the chevalier was restored, the knowledge of his character would be our security; "habet foenum in cornu:" there would be no pretence for trusting him, and by consequence it would be easy to put such restrictions on the exercise of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or sapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny.—Experience has shewn us how

how ready men are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the tories or the whigs would comply, in order to secure to themselves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppose however, that a majority of true Israelites should be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to BAAL; in order to preserve the government on one hand, must they not destroy it on the other? The necessary restrictions would in this case be so many, and so important, as to leave hardly the shadow of a monarchy, if he submitted to them: and if he did not submit to them, these patriots would have no resource left

left but in rebellion. Thus, therefore, the affair would turn, if the pretender was restored. We might, most probably, lose our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We should have no chance of preserving them, but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government, or by another revolution. What reasonable man would voluntarily reduce himself to the necessity of making an option among such melancholy alternatives?

The best which could be hoped for, were the chevalier on the throne, would be, that a thread of favorable accidents,

improved by the wiſdom and virtue of parliament, might keep off the evil day during his reign. But ſtill the fatal cauſe would be eſtabliſhed, it would be entailed upon us, and every man would be appriſed, that ſooner or later the fatal effect muſt follow. Conſider a little what a condition we ſhould be in, both with reſpect to our foreign intereſt, and our domeſtic quiet, whilſt the reprieve laſted, whilſt the chevalier or his ſucceſſors made no direct attack upon the conſtitution.

As to the firſt, it is true indeed, that princes and ſtates are friends or foes to one another, according as the motives of ambition

bition drive them. Theſe are the firſt principles of union and diviſion amongſt them. The proteſtant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to ſupport and aggrandiſe the houſe of Auſtria, as they did, in the days of our forefathers, to defeat her deſigns, and to reduce her power; and the moſt chriſtian king of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms too, with the councils and arms of the moſt mahometan emperor of Conſtantinople. But ſtill there is, and there muſt continue, as long as the influence of the papal authority ſubſiſts in Europe, another general, permanent, and invariable diviſion of intereſts. The

powers of earth, like thofe of heaven, have two diftinct motions. Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the fame time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be juft, apply it to the prefent cafe. Whilft a roman catholic holds the rudder, how can we expect to be fteered in our proper courfe? His political intereft will certainly incline him to direct our firft motion right; but his miftaken religious intereft will render him incapable of doing it fteddily.

As to the laft, our domeftic quiet; even whilft the chevalier, and thofe of his race concealed

cealed their game, we ſhould remain in the moſt unhappy ſtate which human nature is ſubject to, a ſtate of doubt and ſuſpenſe. Our preſervation would depend on making him the object of our eternal jealouſy, who, to render himſelf and his people happy, ought to be that of our entire confidence.

WHILST the pretender and his ſucceſſors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we ſhould remain in the condition of thoſe people who labor under a broken conſtitution, or who carry about them ſome chronical diſtemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneaſineſs,

which is ſometimes leſs tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languiſh in the conſtant expectation of dying perhaps in the ſevereſt torture.

But if the fear of hell ſhould diſſipate all other fears in the pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that paſſion, to the moſt deſperate undertakings; if among his ſucceſſors a man bold enough to make the attempt ſhould ariſe, the condition of the britiſh nation would be ſtill more deplorable. The attempt ſucceeding, we ſhould fall into tyranny; for a change of religion could never be brought about by conſent; and the ſame force, that would

be

be ſufficient to enſlave our conſciences, would be ſufficient for all the other purpoſes of arbitrary power. The attempt failing, we ſhould fall into anarchy; for there is no medium when diſputes between a prince and his people are arrived at a certain point; he muſt either be ſubmitted to, or depoſed.

I HAVE now laid before you even more than I intended to have ſaid when I took my pen; and I am perſuaded, that if theſe papers ever come to your hands, they will enable you to caſt up the account between party and me. Till the time of the queen's death it ſtands, I believe, even between us. The tories diſtin-

guiſhed me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongſt them; and I endeavoured to diſtinguiſh myſelf in their ſervice, under the immediate weight of great diſcouragement, and with the no very diſtant proſpect of great danger. Since that time the account is not ſo even, and I dare appeal to any impartial perſon, whether my ſide in it be that of the debtor. As to the opinion of mankind in general, and the judgment which poſterity will paſs on theſe matters, I am under no great concern. "Suum cuique decus "poſteritas rependit."

FROM

FROM THE

EARL OF STAIR,

His majesty's embassador at Paris,

TO

JAMES CRAGGS junior, Esq.

Secret Letter *.

Monsieur,

VOUS avés vu par ma depêche l'état de la negociation. J'ai à present à vous parler, en particulier, de BOLINGBROKE.

* This letter, which, with several more private and secret letters, had been returned to lord STAIR by his correspondent, was communicated to the editor of these papers, some time ago, by a relation of his lordship: and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-writing.

Je

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour après l'arrivée de Mr. Pitt: et nous avons eu ensemble une conversation d'une heure et demie; dont la substance est, que lui, Bolingbroke, rentroit, du meilleur de son cœur, dans son devoir envers son roi et sa patrie; et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette resolution, quand même sa majesté ne trouveroit pas à propos de lui faire grace. Qu'il étoit prêt, dès ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce païs-ici pour le service du roi, si je croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque chose; et qu'il me communiqueroit tout ce qui viendroit à sa connoissance qui me pourroit être de quelque usage; et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers

tiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquises par ses habitudes ici.

IL me dit, que je sçavois bien, par son caractere, qu'il ne faisoit pas les choses à demi ; qu'en rentrant en son devoir il se proposoit de servir le roi et sa patrie avec zèle et avec affection. Que pour cet effet, il se croiroit obligé, par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoissance, de l'honneur et de l'interêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que son experience lui pourroit suggérer d'utile pour le service de sa majesté, pour l'affermissement de la tranquillité publique et pour prévenir tous les projets qui se

pour-

pourront former en faveur de ses ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embrassé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faisant voir quelle espece d'homme le prétendant étoit ; et qu'ils se trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la sûreté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit necessaire, même pour le service du roi, que lui, BOLINGBROKE, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne passât pas pour délateur.

IL insista beaucoup sur cet article. "Ce que je propose de "faire, me dit-il, est digne d'un "hon-

" honnête homme, convaincu
" de fon erreur et touché d'un
" vrai répentir ; c'eft ce que je
" ferai hautement et à la face
" de l'univers : et permettés-
" moi d'ajouter, que c'eft un
" fervice réel que je rendrai au
" roi et à ma patrie. Mais de
" confentir à trahir des particu-
" liers, ou à réveler ce qui m'a
" été confié, ce feroit me def-
" honnorer à jamais."

Je ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu'outre fon éloignement pour le prétendant, il m'a temoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France : et je fuis fûr qu'il me parloit fincerement.

Je ferai bien-aife d'être inftruit au plutôt touchant les in-

 tentions

tentions du roi à son égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de sa majesté; afin qu'il puisse être en état de se rétirer de ce païs-ici, où j'appréhende qu'il ne fait pas bon pour lui.

Pour moi; je vous avoue franchement, que je crois qu'il m'a parlé dans la sincerité de son cœur; qu'il est resolu de faire son mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déraciner tout-à-fait si cela dependoit de lui: et il me paroit certain, qu'il n'y a personne qui puisse nuire au prétendant au point qu'il le peut faire.

A' LA

A' LA fin de nôtre conversation, il me serra la main, et me dit : " Milord, si l'on me fait
" la justice de croire que mes
" professions sont sinceres, plus
" ils menagent ma réputation,
" plus ils font le service du roi.
" Si au contraire ils me soupçonnent de ne pas marcher droit,
" ils auront raison d'exiger de
" moi des conditions que j'aurai
" en même tems raison comme
" un honnéte homme, de refuser.
" Les difficultés que je fais de
" promettre trop, peuvent servir de garans que je tiendrai
" ce à quoi je m'engage. En
" tout cas, le tems et ma conduite uniforme convaincront
" tout le monde de la droiture
" de mes intentions : et il vaut
" mieux

" mieux attendre ce tems avec
" patience, quelque long qu'il
" puiſſe être, que d'arriver avec
" precipitation à ſon but en ſor-
" tant du grand chemin de
" l'honneur et de la probité."

SOME

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Present STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

> Mihi autem non minori curae est qualis respublica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit. CIC. in LAEL.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Preſent STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

SINCE we are got out of a war, the leaſt ſucceſsful, and the moſt expenſive, that this nation ever made; after having taken part threeſcore years together, like principal actors, in all the other wars

and all the negotiations of the continent; it is time, ſurely, that we recal our attention homewards, and conſider the preſent ſtate of our own country, particularly with reſpect to her taxes and her debts; to the nature and application of the former, to the riſe and progreſs of the latter, to the neceſſity and to the means of diminiſhing both.

The revolution of our government in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight makes a moſt remarkable aera in the hiſtory of Britain on many accounts, and on none more, than on that which is the ſubject of theſe papers. The public revenue, in net money, amounted,

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at that time, to no more, than two millions annually; which were sufficient to defray the ordinary expences of the crown, as well as to maintain a fleet, and a greater army than was necessary for the defence of the country at that time. This revenue was raised without any tax on land or malt, and by a very few of those innumerable duties which have been since laid, to the oppression of the landed and mercantile interest of the nation. These duties have been so mortgaged too, that we are unable, at this time, to send a cock-boat to sea, or to keep a single centinel at Whitehall gate without a land-tax.

The public debts, that of the bankers included, amounted to little more than three hundred thousand pounds at the beginning of this aera. They amount now to fourscore millions. To discover how this great change in our national circumstances has been brought about is surely an object of reasonable, and may be such of useful, curiosity.

King William engaged in a necessary war with France as soon as he came to the throne. It was necessary that he should maintain the revolution he had made, and assert his right to the crown he had acquired by the best of all titles, the free

gift of a people whom he had delivered from impending destruction, from popery and slavery. This war might be thought necessary too in another respect.

FROM the treaty of Westphalia, and from the pyrenean, to the accession of king WILLIAM to our throne, the power and ambition of France had grown up together, and were become exorbitant. No efforts had been made sufficient to reduce, scarce any sufficient to resist, the former. No measures had been concerted, no preparations had been made, to disappoint the latter in that great object,

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the acquiſition of the ſpaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Bourbon. From the revolution this alarm was taken, which ſhould have been taken ſooner. The ſpirit of our court was changed, the eyes of our people were opened, and all men ſaw how neceſſary it was to preſerve, in concert with the Spaniards, the ſucceſſion of their monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of ſuffering it to fall into that of Bourbon, which was excluded from it by the moſt ſolemn engagements.

QUEEN ANNE came to the throne at the eve of another great war, of a war againſt France

France and Spain, which her predeceſſor was ready to undertake, tho he had not actually declared it when he died, in order to procure ſome reaſonable ſatisfaction to the emperor for a ſucceſſion, which had been then loſt to his family by his own fault.

KING WILLIAM, who engaged for ſo much more in the firſt grand alliance, would engage for no more than this in the ſecond. But the private intereſt of her miniſters, the intrigues of her allies, and the raſhneſs of a party, drew the queen much further: and it muſt be confeſſed that a ſubſerviency to the

the court of Vienna, which has coſt us ſo dear, began in her time, not in king WILLIAM's, tho her heart was, what ſhe declared it to be, entirely engliſh, and tho he was cenſured, I think very unjuſtly, for too great regard to foreign intereſts and too little for thoſe of Britain.

THE war king WILLIAM waged was not very ſucceſsful: and yet, if the emperor would have conſented to ſend his ſecond ſon into Spain during the life of CHARLES the ſecond, king WILLIAM would have ſucceeded in both the objects of this war. He had maintained himſelf on the throne, and had obliged France

France to promise that she would not disturb him in the possession of it. As to the other object, no treaties of partition would have been thought necessary by him in that case; neither would this nation have had any thing more to do, when the spanish succession was open, than to support, with the concurrence of that whole nation, an austrian prince, who was actually on the spot with an austrian army, and who had been already declared presumptive heir. Thus we might have had a defensive war to make with great advantages on our side; and the events of the offensive war, which we were obliged

obliged to make afterwards, ſhew ſufficiently what would have been the ſucceſs of the other. The councils of Vienna laid us wantonly, if I may ſay ſo, under great diſadvantages: and king WILLIAM therefore reſolved, like a wiſe prince, to expoſe neither this country, nor his own, to the hard taſk of recovering the whole ſpaniſh monarchy out of the hands of PHILIP. He accommodated his ſyſtem to the circumſtances of the time; and aimed at no more now, than to force the French and Spaniards to come into ſome compoſition about the auſtrian pretenſions, about trade, about barriers, and about effec-

effectual means to hinder a future union of France and Spain under one monarch.

THIS was all that he meaned. But they, who delighted in war becauſe they hoped to get immenſely by it, and they, who amuſed themſelves and others with vain ſpeculations about a thing very real in itſelf; about a balance of power, enſnared both England and Holland into engagements for dethroning PHILIP and ſetting up CHARLES in his room, tho we had acknowledged the former, tho the Caſtilians were ſtrongly attached to him, and tho he was in quiet poſſeſſion of the ſpaniſh dominions

minions in both hemiſpheres. Flattered by groundleſs hopes of a revolution in favor of his rival, and fluſhed by the firſt ſucceſs of our arms, this precipitate engagement was approved and ſupported by us, notwithſtanding the abſurd conduct of the emperor, and the wiſe reſerve of king WILLIAM; both of which ſhould have put us more on our guard, and have made us leſs ſanguine.

IT is perhaps worth while to make an obſervation in this place, which was made at the time we ſpeak of by Spaniards, who acknowledged PHILIP the

fifth in compliance with the will of CHARLES the second, and yet were averſe to the influence and authority which France aſſumed over them. They obſerved, that CROMWELL had forced them to give their infanta to LEWIS the fourteenth, by joining his arms with thoſe of France against them, and that we went about to force them, half a century afterwards, by a new war, to an abſolute dependance on France.

THE court of Vienna, deſirous to acquire the italian dominions, and too indifferent about Spain and the Weſt-Indies, made her profit of our raſhneſs.

neſs. She left the whole weight of the war on England and Holland. She did worſe. She not only neglected the war by contributing little or nothing to it, except the name of Auſtria and the claims of that family; ſhe ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the common cauſe, for ſo it was called improperly enough by her, whenever any little inferior intereſt, that ſeemed to be hers more immediately, came in the way: by which ſhe not only prolonged the war, but increaſed the annual expence of it to England and Holland, without taking any ſhare in this expence on herſelf that deſerves to be mentioned.

EXPERIENCE was loſt upon us. Our political delirium continued. It grew in ſome ſort habitual by the artifice employed at home, and by the victories obtained abroad. The war languiſhed however upon the whole, notwithſtanding our utmoſt efforts; the weight of Auſtria grew every year heavier on us, whilſt that of Spain grew every year lighter on France; the Spaniards were able to defend themſelves againſt us at laſt, and the ſucceſs of our enemies in Spain made them amends for our victories in Flanders.

THE dethronement of PHILIP in favor of CHARLES was become evidently a chimerical project in the year one thouſand ſe-

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ven hundred and ten, at the lar-eſt, and it became in the following year ſo ineligible, by the death of the emperor JOSEPH, to whom his younger brother CHARLES ſucceeded, that one cannot conceive the men, who clamored for it, even then to have been in earneſt; ſince their aim, in that caſe, muſt have been to ſet the imperial and ſpaniſh crowns on the ſame head, againſt the common intereſt of Europe and the fundamental principle of the war.

BUT tho we could not conquer Spain by a war, we might have reduced the exorbitant power of France by a peace. We might have ſtripped her of that barrier wherein this exorbitant power

consisted chiefly; as every man, who knew what he meaned when he talked of this exorbitant power, must have intended. We might have laid her as open to the incursions of her neighbours, as her neighbours were to hers; as open as she had been when a prince CASIMIR, or any other general of Reitres, could penetrate, without a siege, and sometimes without a battle, into the heart of her provinces.

BUT we would not do the latter, because we could not do the former. We acted like men who thought that the exorbitant power of one family could not be reduced, unless a power as exorbitant was raised in another; and

who never looked back to preceding centuries to consider the usurpations, the tyranny, and the bigotry that the house of Austria had exercised in the fulness of her power, and would exercise again if she was ever restored to the same.

We were disappointed in our great political views, after two wars that had lasted twenty five years with a very short interval between them. We had done our utmost to defeat that scheme of ambition France had opened to herself, and of danger to all her neighbours, by the pyrenean treaty: and, tho this danger affected us less than any other nation engaged in the alliance, we had

had exhausted ourselves to maintain it.

When king William entered, immediately after the revolution, on this great scene of action, the unincumbered condition of this nation, which has been hinted at above, was such, that he might have been supported in it, by good management, as profusely as he was, and even more effectually, by the revenue then subsisting, by a land-tax, by the excise on malt, and by some additional subsidies, all of which would have been raised within the year. A scheme of this kind was prepared and offered. It was allowed to be practicable: but it was rejected for a reason that appeared

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plausible in political refinement, and has proved most pernicious in it's consequences. It was said that a new government, established against the antient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be so effectually secured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preservation of it; and that this could not be done unless they were induced to lend their money to the public, and to accept securities under the present establishment. Thus the method of funding, and the trade of stock-jobbing began. Thus were great companies created, the pretended servants, but in many respects

spects the real maſters of every adminiſtration.

I DO not pretend to determine how far the wiſdom of our legiſlature might have provided, at the beginning of the new war, againſt the growth and ſpreading of that cancerous humor, which had begun to knaw our vitals in the former. All I am to obſerve is, that, a moneyed intereſt being firmly eſtabliſhed by this time, and ſuch numbers being accuſtomed to make immenſe profit at the public expence, there is no room to wonder if we proceeded on the ſame plan during the reign of queen ANNE. We did ſo: and the debts contracted in this war being added to thoſe

of the former, the whole of our debt amounted to little leſs than fifty millions.

HAVING accumulated ſo immenſe a debt, the queen put an end to the war. She could not attempt to alter the ſyſtem of it whilſt it continued, without throwing the whole alliance into confuſion, after ſome of the principal allies had declared, on the death of JOSEPH, that they would not conſent CHARLES ſhould be king of Spain as well as emperor.

THE intereſt of Britain required, no doubt, that we ſhould turn our eyes from the continent to our own iſland, and that we ſhould improve the opportunity and the advantages which a peace gave

give us. Whatever prejudices have been propagated induſtriouſly againſt that of Utrecht, thus much at leaſt is certain: we were obliged no longer by treaties to aſſume any other part in the affairs of the continent, than that which the immediate intereſt of our own country required. The opportunity and the means of diminiſhing taxes, reviving commerce, and paying debts were open to us.

THIS pacific ſcheme ought to have been purſued, no doubt, till we had retrieved our affairs, and recovered our former ſtrength in ſome good degree, and till we were prepared to take any part in future events, which our honor or intereſt might require. Nay, this

this ſcheme was the more neceſ-ſary to be purſued; if France was left too powerful, no matter by whoſe fault, as I am ready to admit that ſhe was; and if the two branches of Bourbon were to be looked upon in this century, like the two branches of Auſtria in the laſt, as inſeparable allies, united by blood and by joint ambition. It was the more eaſy to be purſued too, becauſe a long minority was beginning in France, and many other circumſtances of characters and of ſituation, extremely favorable to it, concurred in that court and country.

THIS ſhould have been the ſcheme of our policy; but unhappily it was not. The late king,

king, as elector of Hanover, had reaſon, no doubt, to deſire the acquiſition of Bremen and Verden. Our nation contributed to it with her money, and forced it with her arms; tho it was made in contradiction to the engagements that the crown of England had taken when king WILLIAM gave his guaranty to the treaty of Travendahl: This acquiſition became the firſt link of a political chain, by which we were dragged back into new and expenſive broils, the conſequences whereof we feel at this hour.

WHEN the king acquired theſe dutchies, it became neceſſary to procure the inveſtiture of them: and I will ſay, becauſe I can demon-

monſtrate, that theſe inveſtitures might have been procured, and the emperor flattered with the acquiſition of Sicily, by meaſures as effectual, and much more conſiſtent with former treaties and the public tranquillity, than thoſe that were taken. The houſe of Auſtria ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the war to the immediate acquiſition of Naples. We ſacrificed all the advantages of the peace, to procure her that of Sicily in the manner we did procure it. I have heard it ſaid, whilſt theſe affairs were in tranſaction, that the treaty of quadruple alliance would complete that of Utrecht. But the event has ſhewn, and it was obvious to foreſee, that one of theſe treaties would

would unravel the ſyſtem of the other. If we had maintained the neutrality of Italy, as we were obliged to do by treaty, even indulging the emperor in the acquiſition of Sicily, and yielding to the houſe of Savoy the eventual ſucceſſions which we ſtipulated ſhould be given to Spain; the intention of the treaty of Utrecht would have been preſerved, and France by concurring in theſe meaſures would have ſhewn her ſincerity in maintaining the ſettlement of Europe. But when ſhe became a party to the quadruple alliance, ſhe meaned nothing more than to give the ſpaniſh branch of Bourbon an opportunity of reannexing to that crown the italian dominions:

minions: and we were groſsly her bubbles when we triumphed that ſhe entered into the quadruple alliance, and made a ſham war to oblige PHILIP to accede to it.

As long, then, as there were hopes of obtaining an extraordinary inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden, we flattered the emperor at no ſmall expence. As ſoon as it became apparent that this inveſtiture could be obtained in no other manner than it had been granted formerly, we inſulted him. We imputed to him deſigns, he has conſtantly diſowned, and we have never proved; after which we complained of his ingratitude, we threatened war, and we prepared for it by

by maintaining, with great profusion, a standing army of Hessians in Germany. The same men, who complained so lately that France had been left too powerful by the treaty of Utrecht, and that great danger would arise from her close connection with Spain, complained now of the too great power of the house of Austria, and of the danger that would arise from a good understanding between the emperor and king PHILIP. In short, our politics were not only variable, but incomprehensible to every man, who knew the state and interest of Great Britain, but was not so well apprised of the several turns of interest which were to be served abroad.

WHEN

When our ministers had once departed from the straight line of british policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every year greater, and the inclination every year less. We continued busy and bustling in every court of Europe. We negotiated against the emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of regaining more of that credit and influence in the empire, which she had formerly had, than she could have acquired without our assistance. We contrived to make peace abroad almost as chargeable to us as war. Abuses of every kind were suffered at home. Trade was neither eased nor encouraged; and the

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gradual payment of our debt was utterly neglected by a minister rather desirous to keep his country under this oppression, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilst we acted in this manner, France grew frugal, she made the debts she could not pay sit more lightly on her, she raised her credit, and she extended her commerce. In short, her strength increased, and ours diminished. We were reduced to a state of weakness we had never felt before; and this very weakness was urged as a reason for bearing tamely the losses our merchants sustained, and all the affronts our government received, lest we should be drawn into a war by using repri-

ſals, the common right of nations.

As tame as we were, the inſolence of the Spaniards, the reaſonable impatience of our merchants, and this very tameneſs of our government, made a ſea-war unavoidable, juſt before the death of the emperor CHARLES the ſixth; which event brought the principal powers of Europe into the field, ſet the whole continent in a flame, and formed one of thoſe conjunctures, wherein our honor and intereſt may oblige us to take a part, and for which therefore we ſhould always be prepared.

WE were in no degree ſo prepared, after ſix or ſeven and twenty

twenty years of peace: and yet when we took a part, we took the moſt laviſh and the moſt impolitic that we could take. It was a miſerable part by ſea at firſt, and through the whole courſe of the war by land. I ſhall recall neither what we did, nor what we neglected to do; and I wiſh, for the honor of my country, that the whole may be buried in oblivion. Thus much only it is to my purpoſe to obſerve. Firſt, that our councils ſeemed to be the echoes of thoſe free-booters, TRENCK and MENTZEL, who talked of nothing leſs than conquering the two Alſatias and the three biſhoprics, and of laying Champagne waſte, whilſt all our offenſive projects on the Rhine

were daily disappointed: and secondly, that we declined all overtures of peace, when the ſeat of the war was transferred, with great advantage to France, from Germany to the Netherlands, where we reſolved to wage it whether the Dutch would or no, and where we were beat on every ſpot on which my lord MARLBOROUGH had conquered.

EVERY defeat in this war, like every triumph in the laſt, became a reaſon for continuing it: and this management, when no avowable reaſon could be given for it, gave ſuſpicious and refining perſons occaſion to throw out a great deal of ſlander: for ſuch, I hope, it was. In ſhort, whatever the

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reaſons were, we continued this inauſpicious war ſo long, and we puſhed it ſo far beyond our ſtrength, that we were within a few months of bankruptcy, when the French granted us, miraculouſly, the ſame terms that they would have granted two or three years before; and when they might have marched without much trouble or oppoſition, after taking Maeſtricht, into the heart of the Seven Provinces: for our laſt reſource, a muſcovite army, was too far off to have enabled ours to make a ſtand.

By making the war in the Low Countries almoſt wholly at our own expence, and without any proſpect of ſucceſs, we meaned to

cauſe ſuch a diverſion to the forces of France, as might leave Germany nothing to fear on the Rhine, and as might give time and opportunity to the empreſs queen to drive the French and Spaniards out of Lombardy. We ſacrificed ourſelves for theſe purpoſes: but in this war, as in the laſt, the court of Vienna ſacrificed nothing. From the time the French had been obliged, more by the ſickneſs of their troops and the ill conduct of their generals, than by the force of her arms, to abandon Germany, the empreſs queen ſeemed to make war juſt as it ſuited her conveniency, to ſave all the expence ſhe could in the Netherlands; to plunder all ſhe could in Italy, and

ready

to make us pay the whole immense subsidies which we gave her for both.

In the Netherlands we were outnumbered vastly by the deficiencies of her quotas: and in Italy, where we had thrown the Genoese into the arms of France and Spain, with great and just indignation against us for the treaty we had made at Worms, and had, however, obliged them to submit after the battle of Placentia, we lost the whole advantage of it by the insatiable avarice and extreme brutality of the Austrians. Yet we continued our efforts on that side still; and the sham siege of Genoa, for it was no more, and the harmless inva-

ſions of Provence and Dauphiny had no other meaning, than to amuſe and impoſe on us in the exceſs of our zeal.

Our expences in every part of this ſtrange war, particularly in the Netherlands, were made without meaſure, becauſe without control; as they will be ſoon convinced who look into the artillery, forage, hoſpital, and other contingent accounts. The parliamentary aids from the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty excluſively, to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty eight incluſively, amount to fifty five millions five hundred twenty two thouſand nine hundred fifty nine pounds

ſixteen ſhillings and three pence, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions; which are near twenty millions more of debt than France has contracted in the ſame time: a ſum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is ſo almoſt to the preſent. There are three reflections to be made on this ſtate, which muſt add to our aſtoniſhment. Firſt, that the greateſt part of this vaſt expence has been granted on account of the war, chiefly ſince there remained no reaſon for continuing it; that is, ſince the time when it was in our power to have a peace at leaſt as good as that we have now obtained; and I place this aera no higher than the

year

year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty ſeven incluſively, tho I might place it higher, perhaps, on very good grounds. Secondly, that the debt contracted in it exceeds by much that of king WILLIAM's, or that of queen ANNE's war; tho both of them were much longer, and the laſt not only more widely ſpread, but carried into countries, the diſtance of which and many other circumſtances increaſed every article of our expence extraordinarily. Thirdly, that we have thrown, by our negotiations and by the late war, into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon much more dominion in Italy, than would have induced the French at Gertruydenberg to have recalled

PHILIP, and to have given up Spain and the Indies; which they were ready to do at those conferences, as BUYS and VANDERDUSSEN acquainted the miniſters of the allies, in making one of their reports to that aſſembly.

BAD as our condition is, let us not deſpair. Not to deſpair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot, that is, of a faithful ſervant to his prince and country: and we may find an example to this purpoſe, which deſerves to be quoted, in a book that is in the hands of moſt people, and that, I hope, is not unread at court, I mean the duke of SULLY's Memoirs. In them

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we find that HENRY the fourth turned his whole application to every thing, that might be useful or even convenient to his kingdom, without suffering things that happened out of it to pass unobserved by him, as soon as he had put an end to the civil wars of France, and had concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins. Is there a man, either prince or subject, who can read, without the most elevated and the most tender sentiments, the language he held to SULLY at this time, when he thought himself dying of a great illness he had at Monceaux? "My friend!" said he, "I have no fear of death. "You, who have seen me expose "my life so often, when I might

" ſo eaſily have kept out of dan-
" ger, know this better than any
" man. But I muſt confeſs that
" I am unwilling to die, before
" I have raiſed this kingdom to
" the ſplendor I have propoſed
" to myſelf; and before I have
" ſhewn my people that I love
" them like my children, by diſ-
" charging them from a part of
" the taxes that have been laid
" on them, and by governing
" them with gentleneſs."

The ſtate of France was then even worſe than the ſtate of Great Britain is now: the debts as heavy, many of the provinces entirely exhauſted, and none of them in a condition of bearing any new impoſition. The ſtanding

revenues brought into the king's coffers no more than thirty millions, tho an hundred and fifty millions were raiſed on the people; ſo great were the abuſes of that government in raiſing of money: and they were not leſs in the diſpenſation of it. The whole ſcheme of the adminiſtration was a ſcheme of fraud, and all who ſerved, cheated the public, from the higheſt offices down to the loweſt, from the commiſſioners* of the treaſury down to the under-farmers and the under-treaſurers. SULLY beheld this ſtate of things, when he came to have the ſole ſuperintendency of affairs, with horror. He was

* Conſeilliers dans le conſeil des finances.

ready to deſpair: but he did not deſpair. Zeal for his maſter, zeal for his country, and this very ſtate ſeemingly ſo deſperate, animated his endeavours: and the nobleſt thought, that ever entered into the mind of a miniſter, entered into his. He reſolved to make, and he made, the reformation of abuſes, the reduction of expences, and a frugal management, the ſinking fund for the payment of national debts, and the ſufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the people.

He ſucceeded in all. The people were immediately eaſed, trade revived, the king's coffers

were

were filled, a maritime power was created, and every thing neceſſary was prepared to put the nation in a condition of executing great deſigns whenever great conjunctures ſhould offer themſelves. Such was the effect of twelve years of wiſe and honeſt adminiſtration: and this effect would have ſhewed itſelf in great enterpriſes againſt the houſe of Auſtria, more formidable in thoſe days than the houſe of Bourbon has been in ours, if HENRY the fourth had not been ſtabbed by one of thoſe aſſaſſins, into whoſe hands the intereſt of this houſe, and the frenzy of religion, had put the dagger more than once.

WHEN we consider, in these memorials, and in others which are come down to us, the deplorable condition to which France was reduced at the end of the sixteenth century, we feel some of that horror which SULLY himself felt; and are ready to confess, that the ruin of that kingdom, bankruptcy, and confusion, must have followed, if the opportunity, which this peaceful conjuncture gave, had not been improved immediately, and as wisely, and as vigorously as it was. Shall we not see our own deplorable condition, and the necessary consequences of it, in the same light? Shall we not be much more strongly affected by them? Are we not as near to

bankruptcy, as the french nation was at that time, and much more ſo than they are at this time? May not confuſion follow it here, as well as there? And finally, may not the joint ambition of two branches of Bourbon, in ſome future conjuncture, produce effects as fatal, and much more ſo to us, if we continue in our preſent ſtate of impotence till ſuch a conjuncture happens, as were to be feared by France, at the time we ſpeak of, from the joint ambition of two branches of Auſtria? In ſhort, we have much to apprehend, unleſs we have the courage and the virtue to probe our domeſtic wounds to the bottom, and to apply immediately not palliative, but the

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most specific remedies. If we do this; instead of fearing others, we may become once more formidable ourselves. But this is certain, that they, who get first out of a distress common to us and to our neighbours, will give the law to the rest.

It may be said, that we have no SULLIES among us. I shall not take on me to determine whether we have or no. But I will venture to say, after SULLY himself, that altho good princes may be wanting to good ministers; yet good ministers will never be wanting to a prince, who has discernment enough to find them, who chuses them for their superior parts, experience, and inte-

integrity; and who resolves to support them, as HENRY the fourth supported SULLY, against favorite mistresses, the cabals of the court, and the factions of the state.

IT may be said again, that a king of France has power enough by the constitution of that government to support a minister who checks corruption, reforms abuses, and maintains a frugal management of the public revenue. But it may be asked, how a minister, who should undertake this, could be supported in a government like ours, where he would be sure to have for his enemies all those, who have shared so long the public spoils, or

who hope to ſhare them, and where theſe enemies would have the means and opportunities of ſupplanting him, notwithſtanding the protection of his maſter? I anſwer, by the parliament. How many miniſters have there been, to whom much national miſchief was imputed juſtly, and no one national good could be aſcribed, and who were long ſupported by the favor of the crown, and by the concurrence of the two houſes, which this favor and their own management procured them? Shall theſe ſupports be ſufficient for a wicked or a weak miniſter; and ſhall innocence and ability, with the ſame favor and better management, be reckoned for nothing? I cannot think ſo ill,

even of the present age, as degenerate as it is. It is degenerate no doubt: But I have heard men complain of this degeneracy, who promoted it first, and sought their excuse in it afterwards.

THE delegated power of a minister, under the legal prerogatives of the crown, is sufficient to carry on a system of reformation and frugality in the ordinary course of things, if the minister really intends it: and whenever extraordinary powers are wanting for extraordinary operations, as they must be in such a state as ours, they will be effectual, if granted; and if refused, they who refuse them, not the minister, will suffer by the refusal, and be answer-

anſwerable to the nation for it. The moneyed man may continue to enjoy a little more revenue by this refuſal: but his fortune will be more precarious, and more liable to ſome future reverſe. The merchant will continue to trade, the landed man to plow and ſow, without even a proſpect of being relieved from their ſervitude, not for the honeſt creditors alone, but for uſurers and ſtock-jobbers, for thoſe leeches who fill themſelves continually with the blood of the nation, and never ceaſe to ſuck it. The nation in the mean time will be reduced to the utmoſt poverty: and it behoves thoſe particularly, who have brought us ſo near it, to ſhew that this was not their

object, by concurring zealously with those, who have used, and will continue to use their best endeavours to prevent it.

THE difficulties we have to struggle with would not be so great as they are, notwithstanding the immense profusion to which the late war gave occasion and pretence; if we did not feel in this instance, as we feel in others, the fatal consequences of a precedent administration. The payment of our debts might have been easily provided for in that time: nay, fourteen years, which are little more than two thirds of it, would have been sufficient to reduce them to twenty millions. If this had been done, the me-

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mory of the person, who was at the head of that administration, and had the sole power of it, might have deserved honor.

LET us nourish in ourselves, and cultivate in others, sentiments more elevated than these, and more worthy of the british genius. The greater our national distress and danger are, the greater should the efforts be of every particular man to relieve his country from one, and thereby to guard it against the other. We are in a crisis that must turn either to life or death, and that cannot turn to the former unless remedies are applied much more effectual than those of mountebanks, who find their account in

palliating evils and in prolonging diſeaſes. To palliate and to prolong would be, in our caſe, to kill, or to do ſomething worſe than kill, to break our conſtitution entirely, to render an accidental illneſs habitual and incurable.

One or two ſhillings in the pound, it is ſaid, will be leſſened this year upon land; and whatever is wanting for the current ſervice, over and above the two ſhillings that remain, and the malt, will be borrowed on the credit of the ſinking-fund at three per cent. The bait will be tempting; for ſo muſt every diminution of taxes be to thoſe who have crouched ſo long under the weight of ſo

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many. But I may venture to ſay, that it will be no more than a bait; and that they, who ſwallow it, will have reaſon to repent of their raſhneſs, when they find, as they will find very probably, that the natural effect of ſuch meaſures muſt prevent the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt, except in a term of years much longer than the proſperity and even the ſafety of our government admits.

I SAY the ſafety, as well as the proſperity: and ſome reflections very plain and obvious, tho made by few, will juſtify me for ſaying ſo. As to the firſt, trade gave us wealth, wealth gave us power, and power raiſed our iſland to

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be, at one time, a match for France. If we desire to return into the same state, we must return by the same steps which raised us to it: and he, who should make a scheme for the payment of our debts, without a principal regard to the improvement of our trade, would make a very silly scheme. But it would be just as silly, to make a scheme for both in such a manner, as would render neither practicable.

THE necessity of diminishing taxes, in order to improve our trade, becomes a good reason, not for the strange purpose to which it is applied by some, but for hastening all the operations necessary to sink our debts, in order

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to haſten that diminution of tax-es, which will become practicable when a part of our debt is ſunk, and which will facilitate extremely the diſcharge of the reſt. The truth is, that if we defer theſe operations too long, we may be never able to perform them with equal advantage, nor, by keeping pace with our neighbours, to renew our ſtrength as faſt, as they are intent to renew theirs. Our neighbours have ſuffered by former wars, and have been exhauſted by the laſt, as well, tho, I apprehend, not ſo much, as we. France, for inſtance, has contracted in the late war no more than one third of the additional debt we have contracted in it, as I believe on very good authority: and ſhe

ſhe has been able to aſſign funds, which pay the intereſt of this debt regularly, and ſink yearly a part of the principal. I am not ſo well appriſed of the actual ſtate of Spain. But the treaſures of the Weſt Indies are poured into her daily; and as ſhe has been long recovered, or recovering, from her antient indolence and ignorance, ſhe ſeems to apply herſelf to the augmentation of her maritime force, to the improvement of her trade, and even to that of domeſtic manufactures. In a word, what has been ſaid before may be repeated here: they, who get ſooneſt out of the preſent common diſtreſs, will give the law to others, or be at leaſt in a condition of not receiving it from any one.

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As to national ſafety, we ſhall do well to obſerve how much the ſyſtem of dominion and power in Europe is leſs favorable at preſent to our political intereſts and views, than it was when we undertook to mend it. Spain was falling, but not fallen into the hands of France, at the beginning of this century: and tho the ſpaniſh nation, as well as court, gave their monarchy afterwards to a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, that they might prevent the diſmemberment of it; yet they were averſe enough, by long habits of hoſtility, to a french government. Fortune and we have done ſo well at laſt, that theſe two nations are now cloſely united by intereſt and by habit,

bit, and that Spain is therefore more than ever estranged from us: the proofs of which are not only recent, but, I fear, actual.

The frontier of France has been the great support of her exorbitant power, as wise men foresaw fourscore years ago, when Lewis the fourteenth began to raise that wall of brass which reaches from the Alps to the Ocean, that it would become. This frontier is now more compact than ever by the acquisition of Lorain. The branches of the house of Bourbon have taken root in Italy as well as in Spain. France has learned by experience to raise and to maintain her credit, and to extend her commerce, for

for the protection and support whereof she seems more attentive than ever to increase her strength by sea: a strength she will always exert with great advantage over us in some respects, I mean in those of order, frugal management, and strict discipline.

The whole empire, except Bavaria and Cologn, was attached to us by inclination, as well as interest, in the war which began with this century. It is much otherwise now: and we may say, I fear, too truly, that the influence of France in Germany is little inferior to what it was whilst the league of the Rhine subsisted.

The dutch commonwealth, our beſt ally, and in ſome ſort a barrier to Great Britain, is in a ſtate of diſſolution; and has not, either without, or within herſelf, thoſe means of recovery by conjuncture and by character, that ſhe has had on ſeveral occaſions from the time her government was firſt formed.

This ſhort ſtate may ſerve to ſhew how difficult it will be, till we have paid a good part of our debt, and reſtored our country in ſome meaſure to her former wealth and power, to maintain the dignity of Great Britain, to make her reſpected abroad, and ſecure from injuries, or even affronts, on the part of her neighbours. This may

may appear eaſy, for aught I know, to ſome men. But, ſure I am, it would appear difficult to BURLEIGH and WALSINGHAM, if they were to riſe from the dead; notwithſtanding the ſucceſs they had in queen ELIZABETH's reign by doing much at little expence, and by employing management much more than force.

THESE reflections, and ſuch as they ſuggeſt naturally to the mind, make it evident, that the future proſperity and ſafety of this country depend on the ſpeedy diminution of our national debts. Nothing elſe can ſecure us effectually againſt contingent events that may be of fatal conſequence to both. Recent expe-

rience has ſhewn how unfit we are become in every reſpect, except the courage of our common ſeamen and ſoldiers, to engage in war. We ſhall not therefore, I ſuppoſe, provoke it eaſily, or ſoon. But war may be brought upon us, tho we ſhould not provoke it, nor go to the continent to ſeek it. Nay, we may be reduced to the melanchollly dilemma of increaſing our annual expence to aſſert our rights, to protect our trade, and to maintain our dignity; or of ſitting tamely down and ſacrificing them all. I think, nay I hope, that we ſhould not do the laſt: and yet we ſhould have much greater difficulties to ſtruggle with in our preſent ſituation, than we had in the former, great as

as they were, if we attempted to do what was then so shamefully neglected. We cannot increase our expences now, nor shall we be able to do so till some part of our national debt be discharged, without mortgaging on the remainder of the sinking fund; which would soon take away all hope of ever paying any part of this debt, and leave us nothing to mortgage but our land and our malt: whereas if a considerable part of this debt was discharged before any new war broke out, or we were reduced to any such dilemma as I have mentioned, we should find ourselves, whilst it lasted, in a much better condition of defence or offence, and we might be able, as soon as it

was over, to refume the fame o-perations, and to proceed in our great domeftic concern.

These confiderations will have great weight with men, who are able to combine all that is to be combined on fuch an important occafion, and, by reflecting on the paft, and by obferving the prefent, to judge of the future. The only effectual, and therefore neceffary, remedies may appear violent, even to them: but they will confider, and every man ought to confider, that if we cannot bear our diftemper, and will not bear our cure, the politi-cal body muft perifh. This mi-ferable ftate will create juftly the indignation of mankind. But this

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indignation ſhould turn againſt thoſe who have brought us into it, not againſt thoſe who would deliver us from it. This is the language of reaſon dictated by public ſpirit: but private intereſt and narrow views will dictate another.

THE moneyed men will complain loudly that they are expoſed to perpetual reductions of intereſt, which have ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to nouriſh the profuſion of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations: and, if this was to continue, their complaints would be juſt, and the hardſhips impoſed upon them intolerable. It is, therefore, juſt that neither they ſhould conſent to this new reduc-

tion of intereſt, which may be called a new tax upon them, nor the landed men to the continuance of that old and heavy tax on land, unleſs they have the utmoſt ſecurity that the whole ſhall be applied to it's proper uſe. There will be ſtill complaints; and we ſhall hear the melancholly condition, to which the widow and the orphan, whoſe ſmall but ſole fortunes are in the funds, will be reduced, moſt pathetically diſplayed. The anſwer will be, however, obvious. If the widow and the orphan, who have their eſtates in money, ſuffer by the reduction of intereſt; the widow and the orphan, who have their eſtates in land, will ſuffer by the continuance of the tax upon it: and both one

one and the other muſt take their ſhare in the common calamity of their country.

But the truth is, that the feeble voice of the widow and the orphan will be little heard. The great din will be raiſed by ſtock-jobbers and uſurers, by the principal men in our great companies, who, born to ſerve and to obey, have been bred to command even government itſelf. Theſe men will roar aloud, and endeavour, by ſilent intrigue, as well as by noiſe, to obſtruct every meaſure that tends to emancipate government out of their hands, to make the exchequer, what it ought to be, the great ſpring of public credit, and the great ſcene of all tranſ-

tranſactions relative to public receipts and payments.

LET theſe men learn therefore to ſubmit, and to reaſon, as old BATEMAN did, when the reduction of intereſt was agreed to in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen. He told my lord STANHOPE, he was glad this reſolution had been taken; becauſe, tho his intereſt diminiſhed, he ſhould think his principal more ſecure than ever. On the whole, complaints from this quarter will make little impreſſion on a miniſter, who knows, that tho ſuch men have been employed whilſt new debts were to be contracted every year, and the public, like an extravagant ſpendthrift, was obliged

obliged to deal with ufurers, on their own terms; yet they are not to be confulted when debts are to be paid, and the public to be taken out of their hands; who knows, in fhort, that his arms are longer than theirs, and makes them feel that he will keep, or not keep, meafures with them according to their behaviour; who purfues fteddily the wife and honeft defign of rendering his own and every future adminiftration independent of them.

MUCH oppofition will arife from two other quarters, the country and the court; in which I fhould apprehend that the leaft plaufible might be the moft fuccefsful.

The landed man will think it hard, that he is not ſuffered to enjoy a little eaſe after having borne the burden and heat of the day during a long courſe of expenſive peace and of ruinous war. All that can be ſaid, to perſuade him that an immediate diminution of the land-tax is contrary to his intereſt, will paſs for deception and paradox. He will be apt to reaſon like his country tenants, who are always frightened at an immediate expence, tho remote and yet great profit muſt be the certain conſequence of it. Let ſuch a man look back then, and take his leſſon from what is paſt. He will find that, whilſt he winked at profuſion becauſe he was flattered by abatements

ments on the land-tax, debts were contracted that have coſt him much more, than the continuance of that tax would have coſt him. If we look back to the firſt ten years of his preſent majeſty's reign, we ſhall find this very remarkably verified. Let the ſame man, after he has looked back, look forward again. He will ſee, that as any diminution of the land-tax to be ſupplied out of the produce of the ſinking fund, or by borrowing even at three per cent. on the credit of it, muſt prevent, or retard, which may be equivalent to preventing, the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt; ſo he will continue expoſed to have the whole tax laid anew, on the firſt occa-

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ſion either real or pretended. He may find himſelf, after a little reſpite, under the load of the ſame tax, and of an increaſed debt: and this may be all he will get by refuſing to bear a little longer, for his own ſake, and for an important object, what he has borne ſeveral years for the ſake of others, and for the ſupport of a moſt unſucceſsful war; for ſuch it may be reckoned, after the French were beat at Dettinghen.

On the other ſide, if he is wiſe enough to deſire that the four ſhillings in the pound be continued for a few years, he will have his ſhare in the common benefits of diminiſhing public debts, increaſing public credit, improv-

improving trade, and restoring national prosperity. He may entertain the comfortable hope of a time, when he, or his posterity, will have no need of consenting to any tax at all on land in time of peace; since the annual produce of other funds will be sooner or later, in this method, sufficient to defray the annual expence of the government. He may acquire an advantage that will make him ample amends for what it cost him. Such of the taxes, whether of excise or of customs, as bear hardest on the poor laborers and on our own manufactures, may be reduced, gradually at least, without any considerable interruption of the operations necessary to discharge our national

debt: and tho he is little accustomed to think himſelf as much affected by other taxes, as he is by the land-tax, he will ſoon perceive, that a ſaving on every thing he eats, drinks, or wears, is a laſting and a large repayment of what this tax took from him whilſt he conſented to continue it. He will find himſelf a gainer, not only by what he ſaves in his expences, but by the improvement of his eſtate; for the whole ſyſtem of national wealth and proſperity are intimately connected.

THE courtier will complain loudly, authoritatively, and pompouſly, that any retrenchments on our annual expences may do more

more hurt, than the faving can do good. But I believe it not hard to fhew, that three fhillings, or three fhillings and fixpence in the pound on land, leaving the reft of the four fhillings to go to the finking fund, would be more than fufficient to anfwer all neceffary expences in time of peace. Wife men are able to do a great deal with a little: every knave or fool is ready to do a little with a great deal. The former know that good policy confifts in obferving two forts of oeconomy, the greater and the lefs: to proportion, by the firft, our expences to our circumftances and to thofe of our neighbours, and to do it with the utmoft frugality that thefe cir-

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cumſtances combined together will admit: to controll, by the ſecond, in the moſt ſtrict and regular manner, the diſpenſation of the public treaſure from the higheſt down to the loweſt offices of the ſtate. It is of the utmoſt importance, at this time eſpecially, that both theſe kinds of oeconomy be practiſed. Our well-being, even our ſecurity depends upon them. If we do not pay our debts, we muſt ſink under the load of them: and if we go about to pay them, without practiſing theſe two ſorts of oeconomy, the ridiculous figure, which I have ſeen in a dutch print, of a man toiling and ſweating to cord a rope of hay, whilſt an aſs bites it off at the other end

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as faſt as he cords it, will be our proper emblem.

EXTREME frugality was one of the means employed by the great miniſter who has been quoted above: and the ſucceſs he had, in ſimilar circumſtances, ſhould encourage the practice of the ſame frugality in ours. But he employed another expedient likewiſe, which is not leſs neceſſary here than it was there, nor in our time than it was in his. The expedient I mean, is that of reforming abuſes. SULLY rendered this reformation no inconſiderable fund for the payment of public debts. Whether we can do ſo, as effectually as he did, or no, I determine not. But thus much

is certain: ſuch a reformation will make all future ſervices be carried on at a cheaper rate for the public; and ſaving is often the ſureſt way of gaining. Materials might be collected, not for a pamphlet, but for a regular treatiſe under diſtinct heads, concerning the abuſes and corruptions which prevail among us in every part of the public ſervice, and concerning the conſequences of them: I know not too whether ſome work of this kind ſhould not be undertaken, as invidious as it may ſeem, if nothing is done to reform theſe abuſes, and to extinguiſh this corruption.

THEY were creeping forward long ago: but ſince a certain period, they have advanced with very large ſtrides. Frauds were connived at, perhaps encouraged, and corruption was propagated formerly by principal men, who had, for the moſt part, more ambition than avarice, and who raiſed, by theſe means, a formidable party that might ſupport them in power. But in proceſs of time, and in favorable conjunctures, the contagion roſe higher, and ſpread ſtill wider; principal men became parties to the greateſt frauds; and the higheſt of thoſe who governed, and the loweſt of thoſe who were governed, contributed, in their degrees, to the univerſal rapine.

The greatest particular cheat, whereof any example can be found, was, I believe, that which arrears of subsidies to foreign princes, and arrears of pay to foreign troops, gave the opportunity and the means of executing.

I AM sensible, that the representation I have made of the degeneracy of our age and people, may give occasion to say, that the very things I have been pleading for are impracticable. It will be asked, what expectation can be entertained of raising a disinterested public spirit among men, who have no other principle than that of private interest, who are individuals rather than fellow-citizens, who prey on one another,

other, and are, in a ſtate of civil ſociety, much like to HOBBES's men in his ſuppoſed ſtate of nature? I muſt agree, tho unwillingly, that the enterpriſe is difficult. But the more difficult it is, if nothing leſs can relieve us from the load of debt we lie under, nor prevent the conſequences of lying under it much longer; every attempt to raiſe this ſpirit, and to promote theſe meaſures, even the weakeſt, even mine, is commendable. The landed men are the true owners of our political veſſel: the moneyed men, as ſuch, are no more than paſſengers in it. To the firſt, therefore, all exhortations to aſſume this ſpirit ſhould be addreſſed. It is their part to ſet the example: and when

they do ſo, they have a right to expect that the paſſengers ſhould contribute their proportion to ſave the veſſel. If they ſhould prove refractory, they muſt be told that there is a law in behalf of the public, more ſacred, and more antient too, for it is as antient as political ſociety, than all thoſe under the terms of which they would exempt themſelves from any reduction of intereſt, and conſequently from any reimburſement of their principal; tho this reduction and this reimburſement be abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore the proſperity of the nation, and to provide for her ſecurity in the mean time. The law I mean, is that which nature and reaſon dictate, and which

which declares the preſervation of the commonwealth to be ſuperior to all other laws.

If ſuch a co-operation of the landed and moneyed intereſts is once brought about, the way will lie ſmooth before us, and a proſpect of national proſperity at the end of it will open before us yearly. Even the proſpect will be of great advantage both at home and abroad. We ſhall feel it in the riſe of our credit, in the confidence which our friends, and in the reſpect which our enemies, will have for us: a reſpect that will be due juſtly to a people who exert ſo much vigor in the midſt of ſo much diſtreſs, and take effectual meaſures to reſtore their

their national ſtrength, and to reſume their former dignity, inſtead of languiſhing on, under impotence and contempt.

The man, who is not fired by ſuch conſiderations as theſe, muſt have no elevation of mind, no love for his country, no regard for poſterity, nor the leaſt tincture of that public morality which diſtinguiſhes a good from a bad citizen. I know that futility, ignorance, and every kind of profligacy are general: but I know too that they are not univerſal, and therefore I do not deſpair. In all events, the merit of preſerving our country from beggary is little inferior to that of preſerving it from ſlavery.

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They who engage therefore in so good a cause, and pursue it stedily in that public spirit, a revival of which can alone save this nation from misery, from oppression, and perhaps from confusion, the usual consequence of the other two; they will deserve better, I presume to say, the title of ultimi Britannorum, even if they should be defeated by the worst subjects of Britain, than that usurer BRUTUS, and that severe exactor of contributions, CASSIUS, deserved the title of ultimi Romanorum, when they were defeated in another manner by the worst citizens of Rome.

After all that has been said in these papers, and all that might be said, concerning the conduct of the house of Austria, from the reign of king William to the present time; it may be proper to add something by way of precaution, and to prevent very false conclusions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premisses.

It is notoriously true, that a spirit of bigotry, of tyranny, and of avarice in the court of Vienna, maintained long the troubles in Hungary, which might have been appeased much sooner than they were. Thus a great and constant diversion was kept up in favor of France, even at the time when the

the two houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon were ſtruggling for that great prize, the ſpaniſh ſucceſſion, till the french troops took poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and the malecontents of Hungary raiſed contributions in the very ſuburbs of Vienna.

IT is notoriouſly true, that we might have had nothing more than a defenſive war, as I have ſaid in the foregoing papers, to make againſt France, with an auſtrian prince on the throne of Spain, at the death of CHARLES the ſecond; if the emperor LEOPOLD would have concurred in the wiſe and practicable meaſures which king WILLIAM propoſed.

IT is notoriouſly true, that we might have avoided the defeat at Almanza, and have ſupported much better the war in Spain; if a predilection for acquiſitions in Italy had not determined the councils of Vienna to precipitate the evacuation of Mantua, wherein an army of French was block-ed up after the battle of Turin, and which was let looſe in this manner, againſt the opinion of the queen and the ſtates general, time enough to beat us at Almanza.

FINALLY, for I will deſcend into no more particulars, it is notoriouſly true, that we might have taken Toulon, and have carried the war into the beſt provinces of France,

France, for which queen ANNE had made, at a vaſt expence, all the neceſſary preparations; if the Auſtrians had not detached, in that very point of time, twelve thouſand men on the expedition to Naples, and if prince EUGENE had not ſhewn too viſibly, before perſons ſtill alive, that the taking of Toulon was the leaſt of his objects.

THESE facts are ſufficient to ſhew, how much the miſtaken policy of the court of Vienna has over-loaded her allies during more than half a century, and has defeated the great deſign which theſe allies, and Britain in particular, carried on for her at the expence of infinite blood and

treaſure. Now there are many in this kingdom very ready to conclude from theſe facts, and from others of the ſame kind poſterior to theſe, that our experience ſhould teach us to neglect the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and to be regardleſs of all that paſſes on the continent for the time to come. But ſurely ſuch concluſions are very falſe. The principle of our conduct has been right, and our manner of purſuing it alone wrong. It was our neglect of the general intereſt of Europe, from the pyrenean treaty to the revolution of our government in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty eight, that gave to France a long opportunity, and the means of raiſing an

exor-

exorbitant power. It has been zeal without knowledge, and a ſtrange ſubſerviency to private intereſts, which have almoſt exhauſted this country, and defeated all our endeavours for the public good, ſince that time. This we may alter. The principle of policy we cannot, as long as the diviſion of power and property in Europe continues the ſame. We are an iſland indeed: but if a ſuperior power gives the law to the continent, I apprehend that it will give it to us too in ſome great degree. Our forefathers apprehended, with reaſon, the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria; and thought that the pretenſions of MARY queen of Scots might give, even when ſhe

was a prisoner, opportunity and advantage, as they did no doubt, to this power to disturb our peace, and even to invade our island. The exorbitant power of the two branches of the house of Bourbon give surely in this respect, as well as in others, at least the same cause of apprehension now. It is, therefore, plainly our interest to maintain the rivalry between the families of Austria and of Bourbon; and for that purpose to assist the former on every occasion against the latter, as far as the common cause of Europe, not her private ambition, requires; and as far as our national circumstances may enable us to measure out our assistance in any conjuncture to her.

THESE

THESE are the meaſures and proportions, according to which alone political ſocieties ought to unite in alliances, and to aſſiſt one another. There is a political, as well as a natural, ſelf-love; and the former ought to be, to every member of a commonwealth, the ſame determining principle of action, where public intereſt is concerned, that the latter will be to him moſt certainly wherever his private intereſt is concerned. I have heard it often ſaid of one man, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Auſtria; and of another, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Bourbon. But theſe expreſſions proceed generally from paſſion and

prepoſſeſſion; as the ſentiments they impute muſt proceed, whenever they are real, from theſe cauſes, or from one which is ſtill worſe, from corruption. A wiſe prince, and a wiſe people, bear no regard to other ſtates, except that which ariſes from the coincidence or repugnancy of their ſeveral intereſts; and this regard muſt therefore vary, as theſe intereſts will do, in the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs. Thus queen ELIZABETH and her people oppoſed the houſe of Auſtria, and ſupported the houſe of Bourbon, in the ſixteenth century. Thus queen ANNE and her people oppoſed the houſe of Bourbon, and ſupported the houſe of Auſtria, in the eighteenth. The

firſt,

first, indeed, was done with wiser counsel; the last with greater force of arms. By the first, our country was enriched; by the last, it was impoverished——

N. B. These considerations were written thus far in the year seventeen hundred and forty nine, but were never finished.

A
LETTER
ADDRESSED TO
Alexander Pope, Esq.
By the late Right Honorable
HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE you have begun, at my request, the work which I have wished long that you would undertake, it is but reasonable that I submit to the task you impose upon me. The mere compliance with any thing you desire, is a pleasure to me. On the present occasion, however, this compliance is a little interested; and that I may not assume more merit with you, than I really have, I will own that in per-

forming this act of friendſhip, for ſuch you are willing to eſteem it, the purity of my motive is corrupted by ſome regard to my private utility. In ſhort, I ſuſpect you to be guilty of a very friendly fraud, and to mean my ſervice whilſt you ſeem to mean your own.

In leading me to diſcourſe, as you have done often, and in preſſing me to write, as you do now, on certain ſubjects, you may propoſe to draw me back to thoſe trains of thought, which are, above all others, worthy to employ the human mind: and I thank you for it. They have been often interrupted by the buſineſs and diſſipations of the world,

world, but they were never ſo more grievouſly to me, nor leſs uſefully to the public, than ſince royal ſeduction prevailed on me to abandon the quiet and leiſure of the retreat I had choſen abroad, and to neglect the example of RUTILIUS, for I might have imitated him in this at leaſt, who fled further from his country when he was invited home.

YOU have begun your ethic epiſtles in a maſterly manner. You have copied no other writer, nor will you, I think, be copied by any one. It is with genius as it is with beauty; there are a thouſand pretty things that charm alike; but ſuperior genius, like ſuperior beauty, has always ſomething

thing particular, ſomething that belongs to itſelf alone. It is always diſtinguiſhable, not only from thoſe who have no claim to excellence, but even from thoſe who excel, when any ſuch there are.

I AM pleaſed, you may be ſure, to find your ſatire turn, in the very beginning of theſe epiſtles, againſt the principal cauſe, for ſuch you know that I think it, of all the errors, all the contradictions, and all the diſputes which have ariſen among thoſe, who impoſe themſelves on their fellow creatures for great maſters, and almoſt ſole proprietors of a gift of God which is common to the whole ſpecies. This gift is reaſon;

ſon; a faculty, or rather an aggregate of faculties, that is beſtowed in different degrees; and not in the higheſt, certainly, on thoſe who make the higheſt pretenſions to it. Let your ſatire chaſtiſe, and, if it be poſſible, humble that pride, which is the fruitful parent of their vain curioſity and bold preſumption; which renders them dogmatical in the midſt of ignorance, and often ſceptical in the midſt of knowledge. The man, who is puffed up with this philoſophical pride, whether divine, or theiſt, or atheiſt, deſerves no more to be reſpected, than one of thoſe trifling creatures, who are conſcious of little elſe than their animality, and who ſtop as far ſhort of the attainable

per-

perfections of their nature, as the other attempts to go beyond them. You will discover as many silly affections, as much foppery and futility, as much inconsistency and low artifice in one, as in the other. I never met the mad-woman at Brentford, decked out in old and new rags, and nice and fantastical in the manner of wearing them, without reflecting on many of the profound scholars, and sublime philosophers of our own, and of former ages.

You may expect some contradiction, and some obloquy on the part of these men, tho you will have less to apprehend from their malice and resentment, than a writer in prose on the same subjects

ſubjects would have. You will be ſafer in the generalities of poetry: and I know your precaution enough to know that you will ſcreen yourſelf in them against any direct charge of heterodoxy. But the great clamor of all will be raiſed when you deſcend lower, and let your Muſe looſe among the herd of mankind. Then will thoſe powers of dullneſs, whom you have ridiculed into immortality, be called forth in one united phalanx againſt you. But why do I talk of what may happen? You have experienced lately ſomething more than I prognoſticate. Fools and knaves ſhould be modeſt at leaſt, they ſhould aſk quarter of men of ſenſe and virtue: and ſo they do

till they grow up to a majority; till a similitude of character assures them of the protection of the great. But then vice and folly, such as prevail in our country, corrupt our manners, deform even social life, and contribute to make us ridiculous as well as miserable, will claim respect for the sake of the vicious and the foolish. It will be then no longer sufficient to spare persons; for to draw even characters of imagination must become criminal when the application of them to those of highest rank, and greatest power cannot fail to be made. You began to laugh at the ridiculous taste, or the no taste in gardening and building, of some men who are at great expence, in both.

both. What a clamor was raised instantly? The name of TIMON was applied to a noble person, with double malice, to make him ridiculous, and you, who lived in friendship with him, odious. By the authority that employed itself to encourage this clamor, and by the industry used to spread and support it, one would have thought that you had directed your satire in that epistle to political subjects, and had inveighed against those who impoverish, dishonor, and sell their country, instead of making yourself inoffensively merry at the expence of men who ruin none but themselves, and render none but themselves ridiculous. What will the clamor be, and how will the same au-

thority foment it, when you proceed to lash, in other instances, our want of elegance even in luxury, and our wild profusion, the source of insatiable rapacity, and almost universal venality? My mind forebodes that the time will come, and who knows how near it may be? when other powers, than those of Grubstreet, may be drawn forth against you, and when vice and folly may be avowedly sheltered behind a power instituted for better, and contrary purposes; for the punishment of one, and for the reformation of both.

But, however this may be, pursue your task undauntedly, and, whilst so many others convert the noblest employments of human

human ſociety into ſordid trades, let the generous Muſe reſume her antient dignity, re-aſſert her antient prerogative, and inſtruct and reform, as well as amuſe the world. Let her give a new turn to the thoughts of men, raiſe new affections in their minds, and determine in another and better manner the paſſions of their hearts. Poets, they ſay, were the firſt philoſophers and divines, in every country; and in ours, perhaps, the firſt inſtitutions of religion, and civil policy, were owing to our bards. Their taſk might be hard, their merit was certainly great. But if they were to riſe now from the dead, they would find the ſecond taſk, if I miſtake not, much harder than

the firſt, and confeſs it more eaſy to deal with ignorance than with error. When ſocieties are once eſtabliſhed, and governments formed, men flatter themſelves that they proceed in cultivating the firſt rudiments of civility, policy, religion, and learning. But they do not obſerve that the private intereſts of many, the prejudices, affections, and paſſions of all, have a large ſhare in the work, and often the largeſt. Theſe put a ſort of bias on the mind, which makes it decline from the ſtraight courſe; and the further theſe ſuppoſed improvements are carried, the greater this declination grows, till men loſe ſight of primitive and real nature, and have no other guide but cuſtom, a ſecond and

and a falſe nature. The author of one is divine wiſdom; of the other, human imagination: and yet whenever the ſecond ſtands in oppoſition to the firſt, as it does moſt frequently, the ſecond prevails. From hence it happens that the moſt civiliſed nations are often guilty of injuſtice and cruelty, which the leaſt civiliſed would abhor; and that many of the moſt abſurd opinions and doctrines, which have been impoſed in the dark ages of ignorance, continue to be the opinions, and doctrines of ages enlightened by philoſophy and learning. If I was a philoſopher, ſays MONTAIGNE, I would naturaliſe art, inſtead of artiliſing nature. The expreſſion is odd, but

the ſenſe is good; and what he recommends would be done, if the reaſons that have been given did not ſtand in the way; if the ſelf-intereſt of ſome men, the madneſs of others, and the univerſal pride of the human heart, did not determine them to prefer error to truth, and authority to reaſon.

WHILST your Muſe is employed to laſh the vicious into repentance, or to laugh the fools of the age into ſhame, and whilſt ſhe riſes ſometimes to the nobleſt ſubjects of philoſophical meditation, I ſhall throw, upon paper, for your ſatisfaction, and for my own, ſome part at leaſt of what I have thought and ſaid formerly on the

laſt

last of these subjects, as well as the reflections that they may suggest to me further in writing on them. The strange situation I am in, and the melancholly state of public affairs take up much of my time, divide or even dissipate my thoughts, and, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper, to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart; and, since I am once more engaged in the service of my country; disarmed, gagged, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity, and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom I

now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part. Further than this no shadow of duty obliges me to go. PLATO ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade; and SOLON laid down his arms before the public magazine when PISISTRATUS grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

THO my situation, and my engagements are sufficiently known to you, I chuse to mention them on this occasion, lest you should expect from me any thing more than I find myself able to perform whilst I am in them. It has been said by many, that they wanted time to make their dis-

courses

courses shorter: and if this be a good excuse, as I think it may be often, I lay in my claim to it. You must neither expect, in what I am about to write to you, that brevity which might be expected in letters, or essays; nor that exactness of method, nor that fulness of the several parts, which they affect to observe, who presume to write philosophical treatises. The merit of brevity is relative to the manner and style, in which any subject is treated, as well as to the nature of it: for the same subject may be sometimes treated very differently, and yet very properly, in both these respects. Should the poet make syllogisms in verse, or pursue a long process of reasoning in the didac-

didactic style, he would be sure to tire his reader on the whole, like LUCRETIUS, tho he reasoned better than the roman, and put into some parts of his work the same poetical fire. He may write, as you have begun to do, on philosophical subjects; but he must write in his own character. He must contract, he may shadow, he has a right to omit whatever will not be cast in the poetic mold: and when he cannot instruct, he may hope to please. But the philosopher has no such privileges. He may contract sometimes, he must never shadow. He must be limited by his matter, lest he should grow whimsical; and by the parts of it which he understands best, lest

he ſhould grow obſcure. But theſe parts he muſt develope ful-ly; and he has no right to omit any thing that may ſerve the pur-poſe of truth, whether it pleaſe or not. As it would be diſinge-nuous to ſacrifice truth to popu-larity, ſo it is trifling to appeal to the reaſon and experience of man-kind, as every philoſophical wri-ter does, or muſt be underſtood to do, and then to talk, like PLA-TO, and his antient and modern diſciples, to the imagination on-ly. There is no need however to baniſh eloquence out of philoſo-phy; and truth and reaſon are no enemies to the purity, nor to the ornaments of language. But as the want of an exact determi-nation of ideas, and of an exact precifion

precision in the uſe of words, is inexcuſable in a philoſopher, he muſt preſerve them, even at the expence of ſtyle. In ſhort, it ſeems to me, that the buſineſs of the philoſopher is to dilate, if I may borrow this word from TULLY, to preſs, to prove, to convince; and that of the poet to hint, to touch his ſubject with ſhort and ſpirited ſtrokes, to warm the affections, and to ſpeak to the heart.

THO I ſeem to prepare an apology for prolixity even in writing eſſays, I will endeavour not to be tedious; and this endeavour may ſucceed the better, perhaps, by declining any over ſtrict obſervation of method: There are cer-

 tain

tain points of that which I esteem the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, whereof I ſhall never loſe ſight: but this will be very conſiſtent with a ſort of epiſtolary licenſe. To digreſs, and to ramble, are different things; and he who knows the country, through which he travels, may venture out of the high road because he is ſure of finding his way back to it again. Thus the ſeveral matters that may ariſe, even accidentally, before me, will have ſome ſhare in guiding my pen.

I DARE not promiſe that the ſections, or members of theſe eſſays will bear that nice proportion to one another, and to the whole, which a ſevere critic would require.

ſure. All I dare promiſe you is, that my thoughts, in what order ſoever they flow, ſhall be communicated to you juſt as they paſs through my mind, juſt as they uſe to be when we converſe together on theſe, or any other ſubjects; when we ſaunter alone, or, as we have often done, with good ARBUTHNOT, and the jocoſe dean of St. Patrick's, among the multiplied ſcenes of your little garden. That theatre is large enough for my ambition. I dare not pretend to inſtruct mankind, and I am not humble enough to write to the public for any other purpoſe. I mean, by writing on ſuch ſubjects as I intend here, to make ſome trial of my progreſs in ſearch of the moſt important truths,

truths, and to make this trial before a friend, in whom, I think, I may confide. These epistolary essays, therefore, will be writ with as little regard to form, and with as little reserve, as I used to shew in the conversations which have given occasion to them, when I maintained the same opinions, and insisted on the same reasons in defence of them.

It might seem strange to a man not well acquainted with the world, and in particular with the philosophical and theological tribe, that so much precaution should be necessary in the communication of our thoughts on any subject of the first philosophy, which is of common con-

cern

over the whole face of mankind, and wherein no one can have, according to nature and truth, any separate interest. Yet so it is. The separate interests we cannot have by God's institutions, are created by those of man; and there is no subject, on which men deal more unfairly with one another, than this. There are separate interests, to mention them in general only, of prejudice, and of profession. By the first, men set out in the search of truth under the conduct of error, and work up their heated imaginations often to such a delirium, that the more genius, and the more learning they have, the madder they grow. By the second, they are sworn, as it were,

to follow all their lives the authority of some particular school, to which "tanquam scopulo, ad- "haerescunt*;" for the condition of their engagement is to defend certain doctrines, and even mere forms of speech, without examination, or to examine only in order to defend them. By both, they become philosophers as men became christians in the primitive church, or as they determined themselves about disputed doctrines; for says HILARIUS, writing to St. AUSTIN, "Your holiness knows, that the "greatest part of the faithful "embrace, or refuse to embrace "a doctrine, for no reason but

* TULLY.

" the impression which the name
" and authority of some body or
" other makes on them." What
now can a man who seeks truth,
for the sake of truth, and is in-
different where he finds it, expect
from any communication of his
thoughts to such men as these?
He will be much deceived, if he
expects any thing better than im-
position, or altercation.

Few men have, I believe, con-
sulted others, both the living and
the dead, with less presumption,
and in a greater spirit of docility,
than I have done: and the more
I have consulted, the less have I
found of that inward conviction,
on which a mind, that is not ab-
solutely implicit, can rest. I
thought,

thought, for a time, that this muſt be my fault. I diſtruſted myſelf, not my teachers, men of the greateſt name, antient and modern. But I found at laſt, that it was ſafer to truſt myſelf than them, and to proceed by the light of my own underſtanding, than to wander after theſe ignes fatui of philoſophy. If I am able therefore to tell you eaſily, and at the ſame time ſo clearly and diſtinctly as to be eaſily underſtood, and ſo ſtrongly as not to be eaſily refuted, how I have thought for myſelf, I ſhall be perſuaded that I have thought enough on theſe ſubjects. If I am not able to do this, it will be evident that I have not thought on them enough. I muſt review

my opinions, discover and correct my errors.

I HAVE said, that the subjects I mean, and which will be the principal objects of these Essays, are those of the first philosophy; and it is fit, therefore, that I should explain what I understand by the first philosophy. Do not imagine that I understand what has passed commonly under that name, metaphysical pneumatics, for instance, or ontology. The first are conversant about imaginary substances, such as may, and may not exist. That there is a God we can demonstrate; and altho we know nothing of his manner of being, yet we acknowledge him to be immaterial, because a thousand

thouſand abſurdities, and ſuch as imply the ſtrongeſt contradictions result from the ſuppoſition that the Supreme Being is a ſyſtem of matter. But of any other ſpirits we neither have, nor can have any knowledge: and no man will be inquiſitive about ſpiritual phyſiognomy, nor go about to enquire, I believe, at this time, as EVODIUS enquired of St. AUSTIN, whether our immaterial part, the ſoul, does not remain united, when it forſakes this groſs terreſtrial body, to ſome aethereal body, more ſubtil, and more fine; which was one of the pythagorean, and platonic whimſies: nor be under any concern to know, if this be not the caſe of the dead, how ſouls can be diſtin-

 guiſhed

guished after their separation, that of DIVES, for example, from that of LAZARUS. The second, that is ontology, treats moſt ſcientifically of being abſtracted from all being, "de ente quatenus ens." It came in faſhion whilſt ARISTOTLE was in faſhion, and has been ſpun into an immenſe web out of ſcholaſtic brains. But it ſhould be, and I think it is already, left to the acute diſciples of LEIBNITZ, who dug for gold in the ordure of the ſchools, and to other german wits. Let them darken by tedious definitions, what is too plain to need any; or let them employ their vocabulary of barbarous terms to propagate an unintelligible jargon, which is ſuppoſed to expreſs ſuch

ſuch abſtractions as they cannot make, and according to which however, they preſume often to control the particular and moſt evident truths of experimental knowledge. Such reputed ſcience deſerves no rank in philoſophy, not the laſt, and much leſs the firſt.

I DESIRE you not to imagine neither, that I underſtand by the firſt philoſophy, even ſuch a ſcience as my * lord BACON deſcribes, a ſcience of general obſervations, and axioms, ſuch as do not belong properly to any particular part of ſcience, but are common to many, "and of an "higher ſtage," as he expreſſes himſelf. He complains, that philoſophers

* Advan. of learn. Lib. ii.

losophers have not gone up to the "spring-head," which would be of "general, and excellent use, "for the disclosing of nature, and "the abridgement of art;" tho they "draw now and then a "bucket of water out of the well "for some particular use." I respect, no man more, this great authority; but I respect no authority enough to subscribe, on the faith of it, to that which appears to me fantastical, as if it were real. Now this spring-head of science is purely fantastical, and the figure conveys a false notion to the mind, as figures, employed licentiously, are apt to do. The great author himself calls these axioms, which are to constitute his first philosophy, observations. Such they

they are properly; for there are ſome uniform principles, or uniform impreſſions of the ſame nature, to be obſerved in very different ſubjects; "una eademque natu-" "rae veſtigia aut ſignacula diver-" "ſis materiis et ſubjectis impreſ-" "ſa." Theſe obſervations, therefore, when they are ſufficiently verified and well eſtabliſhed, may be properly applied in diſcourſe, or writing, from one ſubject to another. But I apprehend that when they are ſo applied, they ſerve rather to illuſtrate a propoſition, than to diſcloſe nature, or to abridge art. They may have a better foundation, than ſimilitudes and compariſons more looſely and more ſuperficially made. They may compare reali-

ties

ties, not appearances; things that nature has made alike, not things that ſeem only to have ſome relation of this kind in our imaginations. But ſtill they are compariſons of things diſtinct, and independent. They do not lead us to things; but things that are lead us to make them. He who poſſeſſes two ſciences, and the ſame will be often true of arts, may find in certain reſpects a ſimilitude between them, becauſe he poſſeſſes both. If he did not poſſeſs both, he would be led by neither to the acquiſition of the other. Such obſervations are effects, not means of knowledge; and therefore to ſuppoſe that any collection of them can conſtitute a ſcience of an "higher ſtage,"

from whence we may reaſon à priori down to particulars, is, I preſume, to ſuppoſe ſomething very groundleſs, and very uſeleſs at beſt to the advancement of knowledge. A pretended ſcience of this kind muſt be barren of knowledge, and may be fruitful of error, as the perſian magic was, if it proceeded on the faint analogy that may be diſcovered between phyſics, and politics, and deduced the rules of civil government from what the profeſſors of it obſerved of the operations, and works of nature in the material world. The very ſpecimen of their magic, which my lord BACON has given, would be ſufficient to juſtify what is here objected to his doctrine.

LET us conclude this head by mentioning two examples among others, which he brings to explain the better what he means by his firſt philoſophy. The firſt is this axiom *, "If to unequals you "add equals, all will be unequal." This, he ſays, is an axiom of juſtice, as well as of mathematics; and he aſks, whether there is not a true coincidence between commutative and diſtributive juſtice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion? But I would aſk in my turn, whether the certainty that any arithmetician, or geometrician has of the arithmetical, or geometrical, truth, will lead him to diſcover this coincidence?

* Si inaequalibus addas aequalia, omnia erunt inaequalia.

I aſk

I aſk, whether the moſt profound lawyer, who never heard perhaps this axiom, would be led to it by his notions of commutative, and diſtributive juſtice? Certainly not. He who is well ſkilled in arithmetic, or geometry, and in juriſprudence, may obſerve, perhaps, this uniformity of natural principle or impreſſion, becauſe he is ſo ſkilled; tho, to ſay the truth, it be not very obvious: but he will not have derived his knowledge of it from any ſpring-head of a firſt philoſophy, from any ſcience of an "higher ſtage" than arithmetic, geometry, and juriſprudence.

The ſecond example is this axiom,

axiom *, "that the destruction "of things is prevented by the "reduction of them to their first "principles." This rule is said to hold in religion, in physics, and in politics; and MACHIAVEL is quoted for having established it in the last of these. Now, tho this axiom be generally, it is not universally true; and, to say nothing of physics, it will not be hard to produce, in contradiction to it, examples of religious, and civil institutions, that would have perished if they had been kept strictly to their first principles, and that have been supported by departing more or less from them. It may seem justly matter of

* Interitus rei arcetur per reductionem ejus ad principia.

wonder,

wonder, that the author of the Advancement of learning should espouse this maxim in religion, and politics, as well as physics, so absolutely, and that he should place it as an axiom of his first philosophy relatively to the three, since he could not do it without falling into the abuse he condemns so much in his Organum novum †; the abuse philosophers are guilty of, when they suffer the mind to rise too fast, as it is apt to do, from particulars to remote, and general axioms. That the author of the Political discourses should fall into this abuse,

† —ut intellectus a particularibus ad axiomata remota, et quasi generalissima,—volat; et volet.

IS

is not at all ſtrange. The ſame abuſe runs through all his writings, in which, among many wiſe, and many wicked reflections, and precepts, he eſtabliſhes frequently general maxims, or rules of conduct, on a few particular examples, and ſometimes on a ſingle example. Upon the whole matter, one of theſe axioms communicates no knowledge but that which we muſt have before we can know the axiom, and the other may betray us into great error when we apply it to uſe, and action. One is unprofitable, the other dangerous; and the philoſophy, which admits them as principles of general knowledge, deſerves ill to be reputed philoſophy. It would have been juſt as

uſeful, and much more ſafe, to admit into this receptacle of axioms, thoſe ſelf-evident, and neceſſary truths alone, of which we have an immediate perception, ſince they are not confined to any ſpecial parts of ſcience, but are common to ſeveral, or to all. Thus theſe profitable axioms, What is, is; The whole is bigger than a part; and divers others, might ſerve to enlarge the ſpring-head of a firſt philoſophy, and be of excellent uſe in arguing ex praecognitis et praeconceſſis.

If you aſk me now, what I underſtand then by a firſt philoſophy? my anſwer will be ſuch as I ſuppoſe you already prepared to receive. I underſtand by a

first philosophy, that which deserves the first place on account of the dignity, and importance of it's objects, natural theology or theism, and natural religion or ethics. If we consider the order of the sciences in their rise, and progress, the first place belongs to natural philosophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like so many branches, they all grow. These branches spread wide, and bear even fruits of different kinds. But the sap that made them shoot, and makes them florish, rises from the root through the trunk, and their productions are varied according to the variety of strainers through which

which it flows. In plain terms, I ſpeak not here of ſupernatural, or revealed ſcience; and therefore, I ſay, that all ſcience, if it be real, muſt riſe from below, and from our own level. It cannot deſcend from above, nor from ſuperior ſyſtems of being and knowledge. Truth of exiſtence is truth of knowledge, and therefore reaſon ſearches after them in one of theſe ſcenes, where both are to be found together, and are within our reach; whilſt imagination hopes fondly to find them in another, where both of them are to be found, but ſurely not by us. The notices we receive from without concerning the beings that ſurround us, and the inward conſciouſneſs we have of

our own, are the foundations, and the true criterions too, of all the knowledge we acquire of body and of mind: and body and mind are objects alike of natural philosophy. We assume commonly that they are two distinct substances. Be it so. They are still united, and blended, as it were, together, in one human nature: and all natures, united or not, fall within the province of natural philosophy. On the hypothesis indeed that body and soul are two distinct substances, one of which subsists after the dissolution of the other, certain men, who have taken the whimsical title of metaphysicians, as if they had science beyond the bounds of nature, or of nature discoverable by others, have

have taken likewiſe to themſelves, the doctrine of mind; and have left that of body, under the name of phyſics, to a ſuppoſed inferior order of philoſophers. But the right of theſe ſtands good; for all the knowledge that can be acquired about mind, or the unextended ſubſtance of the Carteſians, muſt be acquired, like that about body, or the extended ſubſtance, within the bounds of their province, and by the means they employ, particular experiments and obſervations. Nothing can be true of mind, any more than of body, that is repugnant to theſe; and an intellectual hypotheſis, which is not ſupported by the intellectual phaenomena, is at leaſt as ridiculous, as a cor-

poreal hypothesis which is not supported by the corporeal phaenomena.

If I have said thus much in this place concerning natural philosophy, it has not been without good reason. I consider theology, and ethics as the first of sciences in pre-eminence of rank. But I consider the constant contemplation of nature, by which I mean the whole system of God's works, as far as it lies open to us, as the common spring of all sciences, and even of these. What has been said, agreeably to this notion, seems to me evidently true; and yet metaphysical divines and philosophers proceed in direct contradiction to it, and have thereby,

by, if I mistake not, bewildered themselves, and a great part of mankind, in such inextricable labyrinths of hypothetical reasoning, that few men can find their way back, and none can find it forward into the road of truth. To dwell long, and on some points always, in particular knowledge, tires the patience of these impetuous philosophers. They fly to generals. To consider, attentively, even the minutest phaenomena of body and mind mortifies their pride. Rather than creep up slowly, à posteriori, to a little general knowledge, they soar at once as far, and as high, as imagination can carry them. From thence they descend again, armed with systems and argu-

ments à priori; and, regardless how these agree, or clash with the phaenomena of nature, they impose them on mankind.

It is this manner of philosophising, this preposterous method of beginning our search after truth out of the bounds of human knowledge, or of continuing it beyond them, that has corrupted natural theology, and natural religion in all ages. They have been corrupted to such a degree, that it is grown, and was so long since, as necessary to plead the cause of God, if I may use this expression after SENECA, against the divine, as against the atheist; to assert his existence against the latter, to defend his attri-

attributes against the former, and to justify his providence against both. To both, a sincere and humble theist might say very properly, "I make no difference "between you on many occasi- "ons; because it is indifferent * "whether you deny, or defame "the Supreme Being:" nay, PLUTARCH, tho little orthodox in theology, was not in the wrong, perhaps, when he declared the last to be the worst.

In treating the subjects about which I shall write to you in these letters, or essays, it will be therefore necessary to distinguish

* Utrum Deum neges an infames.

genuine

genuine and pure theiſm, from the unnatural, and profane mixtures of human imagination; what we can know of God, from what we cannot know. This is the more neceſſary too, becauſe, whilſt true and falſe notions about God and religion are blended together in our minds, under one ſpecious name of ſcience, the falſe are more likely to make men doubt of the true, as it often happens, than to perſuade men that they are true themſelves. Now in order to this purpoſe, nothing can be more effectual than to go to the root of error, of that primitive error which encourages our curioſity, ſuſtains our pride, fortifies our preju-

prejudices, and gives pretence to delufion. This primitive error confifts in the high opinion we are apt to entertain of the human mind, tho it holds, in truth, a very low rank in the intellectual fyftem. To cure this error, we need only turn our eyes inward, and contemplate impartially what paffes there from the infancy to the maturity of the mind. Thus it will not be difficult, and thus alone it is poffible, to difcover the true nature of human knowledge, how far it extends, how far it is real, and where, and how it begins to be fantaftical.

SUCH an enquiry, if it cannot check the prefumption, nor humble

ble the pride of metaphyſicians, may ſerve to undeceive others. LOCKE purſued it. He grounded all he taught on the phaenomena of nature. He appealed to the experience and conſcious knowledge of every one, and rendered all he advanced intelligible. LEIBNITZ, one of the vaineſt, and moſt chimerical men that ever got a name in philoſophy, and who is often ſo unintelligible, that no man ought to believe he underſtood himſelf, cenſured LOCKE as a ſuperficial philoſopher. What has happened? The philoſophy of one has forced it's way into general approbation: that of the other has carried no conviction, and ſcarce

any

any information to thoſe who have miſpent their time about it. To ſpeak the truth, tho it may ſeem a paradox, our knowledge on many ſubjects, and particularly on thoſe which we intend here, muſt be ſuperficial to be real. This is the condition of humanity. We are placed, as it were, in an intellectual twilight, where we diſcover but few things clearly, and none entirely, and yet ſee juſt enough to tempt us with the hope of making better and more diſcoveries. Thus flattered, men puſh their enquiries on, and may be properly enough compared to IXION, who "imagined he had JUNO in his arms "whilſt

"whilſt he embraced a cloud*."

To be contented to know things as God has made us capable of knowing them, is then a firſt principle neceſſary to ſecure us from falling into error; and if there is any ſubject upon which we ſhould be moſt on our guard againſt error, it is ſurely that which I have called here the firſt philoſophy. God is hid from us in the majeſty of his nature, and the little we diſcover of him, muſt be diſcovered by the light that is reflected from his works. Out of this light, therefore, we ſhould never go in our

* Lord Bacon.

enqui-

enquiries and reaſonings about his nature, his attributes, and the order of his providence: and yet upon theſe ſubjects, men depart the furtheſt from it; nay, they who depart the furtheſt are the beſt heard by the bulk of mankind. The leſs men know, the more they believe that they know. Belief paſſes in their minds for knowledge: and the very circumſtances, which ſhould beget doubt, produce increaſe of faith. Every glittering apparition, that is pointed out to them in the vaſt wild of imagination, paſſes for a reality: and the more diſtant, the more confuſed, the more incomprehenſible it is, the more ſublime it is eſteemed.

He who ſhould attempt to ſhift theſe ſcenes of airy viſion, for thoſe of real knowledge, might expect to be treated with ſcorn and anger, by the whole theological and metaphyſical tribe, the maſters and the ſcholars. He would be deſpiſed as a plebeian philoſopher, and railed at as an infidel. It would be ſounded high, that he debaſed human nature, which has a cognation, ſo the reverend and learned doctor CUDWORTH calls it, with the divine; that the ſoul of man, immaterial and immortal by it's nature, was made to contemplate higher and nobler objects, than this ſenſible world, and even than itſelf, ſince it was made to con-

contemplate God, and to be united to him. In ſuch clamor as this, the voice of truth and of reaſon would be drowned; and, with both of them on his ſide, he who oppoſed it would make many enemies, and few converts. Nay, I am apt to think that ſome of theſe, if he made any, would ſay to him, as ſoon as the gaudy viſions of error were diſpelled, and till they were accuſtomed to the ſimplicity of truth, "Pol me occidiſtis." Prudence forbids me, therefore, to write as I think to the world, whilſt friendſhip forbids me to write otherwiſe to you. I have been a martyr of faction in politics, and have no vocation to be ſo in philoſophy.

But there is another confideration which deferves more regard, becaufe it is of a public nature, and becaufe the common interefts of fociety may be affected by it. Truth and falfhood, knowledge and ignorance, revelations of the Creator, inventions of the creature, dictates of reafon, fallies of enthufiafm, have been blended fo long together in our fyftems of theology, that it may be thought dangerous to feparate them; left by attacking fome parts of thefe fyftems we fhould fhake the whole. It may be thought that error, itfelf, deferves to be refpected on this account, and that men, who are deluded for their good, fhould be deluded on.

SOME such reflections as these it, is probable that ERASMUS made when he observed, in one of his letters to MELANCTHON, that PLATO, dreaming of a philosophical commonwealth, saw the impossibility of governing the multitude without deceiving them. "Let not christians lye," says this great divine: "but "let it not be thought neither, "that every truth ought to be "thrown out to the vulgar. "Non expedit omnem veri"tatem prodere vulgo." SCAEVOLA and VARRO were more explicit than ERASMUS, and more reasonable than PLATO. They held not only that many truths were to be concealed from the vulgar, but that it was expe-

dient the vulgar ſhould believe many things that were falſe. They diſtinguiſhed at the ſame time very rightly, between the regard due to religions already eſtabliſhed, and the conduct to be held in the eſtabliſhment of them. The Greek aſſumed, that men could not be governed by truth, and erected on this principle a fabulous theology. The Romans were not of the ſame opinion. VARRO declared expreſsly, that if he had been to frame a new inſtitution, he would have framed it "ex na-"turae potius formula." But they both thought that things evidently falſe might deſerve an outward reſpect, when they are interwoven into a ſyſtem of go-

government. This outward re-ſpect every good citizen will ſhew them in ſuch a caſe, and they can claim no more in any. He will not propagate theſe errors, but he will be cautious how he propagates even truth, in oppoſition to them.

There has been much noiſe made about free thinking; and men have been animated, in the conteſt, by a ſpirit that becomes neither the character of divines, nor that of good citizens; by an arbitrary tyrannical ſpirit under the maſk of religious zeal, and by a preſumptuous, factious ſpirit under that of liberty. If the firſt could prevail, they would eſtabliſh im-

plicit belief and blind obedience, and an inquisition to maintain this abject servitude. To assert antipodes might become once more as heretical as arianism, or pelagianism: and men might be dragged to the jails of some holy office, like GALILEI, for saying they had seen what in fact they had seen, and what every one else that pleased might see. If the second could prevail, they would destroy at once the general influence of religion, by shaking the foundations of it which education had laid. These are wide extremes. Is there no middle path, in which a reasonable man and a good citizen may direct his steps? I think there is.

EVERY

EVERY one has an undoubted right to think freely: nay, it is the duty of every one to do so, as far as he has the necessary means, and opportunities. This duty too is in no case so incumbent on him, as in those that regard what are the first philosophy. They who have neither means nor opportunities of this sort, must submit their opinions to authority: and to what authority can they resign themselves so properly, and so safely, as to that of the laws, and constitution of their country? In general nothing can be more absurd than to take opinions of the greatest moment, and such as concern us the most intimately, on trust. But there

is no help againſt it in many particular caſes. Things the moſt abſurd in ſpeculation become neceſſary in practice. Such is the human conſtitution, and reaſon excuſes them on the account of this neceſſity. Reaſon does even a little more; and it is all ſhe can do. She gives the beſt direction poſſible to the abſurdity. Thus ſhe directs thoſe, who muſt believe becauſe they cannot know, to believe in the laws of their country, and conform their opinions and practice to thoſe of their anceſtors, to thoſe of CORUNCANUS, of SCIPIO, of SCAEVOLA, not to thoſe of ZENO, of CLEANTHES, of CHRYSIPPUS *.

* De nat. deor.

BUT now the ſame reaſon, that gives this direction to ſuch men as theſe, will give a very contrary direction to thoſe who have the means and opportunities the others want. Far from adviſing them to ſubmit to this mental bondage, ſhe will adviſe them to employ their whole induſtry, to exert the utmoſt freedom of thought, and to reſt on no authority but her's, that is, their own. She will ſpeak to them in the language of the Soufys, a ſect of philoſophers in Perſia, that travellers have mentioned. " Doubt," ſay theſe wiſe and honeſt free-thinkers, " is the key of know-" ledge. He who never doubts, " never examines. He who ne-" ver

"ver examines, diſcovers no-
"thing. He who diſcovers no-
"thing, is blind, and will re-
"main ſo. If you find no rea-
"ſon to doubt concerning the
"opinions of your fathers, keep
"to them, they will be ſuffi-
"cient for you. If you find
"any reaſon to doubt concern-
"ing them, ſeek the truth
"quietly, but take care not to
"diſturb the minds of other
"men."

LET us proceed agreeably to theſe maxims. Let us ſeek truth, but ſeek it quietly as well as freely. Let us not imagine, like ſome who are called free-thinkers, that every man, who can think and judge for him-
ſelf,

ſelf, as he has a right to do, has therefore a right of ſpeaking, any more than of acting according to the full freedom of his thoughts. The freedom belongs to him as a rational creature: He lies under the reſtraint as a member of ſociety.

If the religion we profeſs contained nothing more than articles of faith, and points of doctrine clearly revealed to us in the goſpel, we might be obliged to renounce our natural freedom of thought in favor of this ſupernatural authority. But ſince it is notorious that a certain order of men, who call themſelves the church, have been employed to make and propagate

a the-

a theological fyftem of their own, which they call chrifti-anity, from the days of the a-poftles, and even from thefe days inclufively; it is our duty to examine, and analyfe the whole, that we may diftinguifh what is divine from what is hu-man; adhere to the firft im-plicitly, and afcribe to the laft no more authority than the word of man deferves.

Such an examination is the more neceffary to be undertaken by every one who is concerned for the truth of his religion, and for the honor of chriftianity, be-caufe the firft preachers of it were not, and they who preach it ftill are not, agreed about many of

the most important points of their system; because the controversies raised by these men have banished union, peace, and charity out of the christian world; and because some parts of the system savour so much of superstition, and enthusiasm, that all the prejudices of education, and the whole weight of civil and ecclesiastical power can hardly keep them in credit. These considerations deserve the more attention, because nothing can be more true, than what PLUTARCH said of old, and my lord BACON has said since; one, that superstition, and the other, that vain controversies are principal causes of atheism.

I NEI-

I NEITHER expect nor desire to see any public revision made of the present system of christianity. I should fear an attempt to alter the established religion as much, as they who have the most bigot attachment to it, and for reasons as good as theirs, tho not entirely the same. I speak only of the duty of every private man to examine for himself, which would have an immediate good effect relatively to himself, and might have in time a good effect relatively to the public, since it would dispose the minds of men to a greater indifference about theological disputes, which are the disgrace of christianity, and have been the plagues of the world.

WILL you tell me that private judgment muſt ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed authority of fathers and councils? My anſwer ſhall be, that the fathers, antient and modern, in councils, and out of them, have raiſed that immenſe ſyſtem of artificial theology, by which genuine chriſtianity is perverted, and in which it is loſt. Theſe fathers are fathers of the worſt ſort, ſuch as contrive to keep their children in a perpetual ſtate of infancy, that they may exerciſe perpetual, and abſolute dominion over them. "Quo "magis regnum in illos exer-"ceant pro ſua libidine *." I call their theology artificial, be-

* ERASMUS.

cause it is in a multitude of instances conformable neither to the religion of nature, nor to gospel christianity, but often repugnant to both, tho said to be founded on them. I shall have occasion to mention several such instances in the course of these little essays. Here I will only observe, that if it be hard to conceive how any thing so absurd, as the pagan theology stands represented by the fathers who wrote against it, and as it really was, could ever gain credit among rational creatures, it is full as hard to conceive how the artificial theology we speak of could ever prevail, not only in ages of ignorance, but in the

most enlightened. There is a letter of St. AUSTIN, wherein he says *, that he was ashamed of himself when he refuted the opinions of the former, and that he was ashamed of mankind when he considered that such absurdities were received, and defended. The reflections might be retorted on the saint, since he broached, and defended doctrines as unworthy of the supreme all-perfect Being, as those which the heathens taught concerning their fictitious and inferior gods. Is it necessary to quote any other than that, by which we are taught that God

* ——jam pudet me ista refellere, cum eos non puduerit ista sentire. Cum vero sint etiam defendere, &c.

 has

has created numbers of men for no purpose, but to damn them? "Quisquis praedestina-"tionis doctrinam invidia gra-"vat," says CALVIN, "aperte "maledicit Deo†." Let us say, "Quisquis praedestinationis do-"ctrinam asserit, blasphemat." Let us not impute such cruel injustice to the all-perfect Being. Let AUSTIN, and CALVIN, and all those who teach it, be answerable for it alone. You may bring fathers and councils as evidences in the cause of artificial theology: but reason must be the judge; and all I contend for is, that she should be so in the breast of every christian that can appeal to her tribunal.

† CAL. Inf. Lib. iii. c. 21.

Wh-

WILL you tell me that even ſuch a private examination of the chriſtian ſyſtem, as I propoſe that every man, who is able to make it, ſhould make for himſelf, is unlawful; and that, if any doubts ariſe in our minds concerning religion, we muſt have recourſe for the ſolution of them to ſome of that holy order, which was inſtituted by God himſelf, and which has been continued by the impoſition of hands in every chriſtian ſociety, from the apoſtles down to the preſent clergy? My anſwer ſhall be ſhortly this, it is repugnant to all the ideas of wiſdom and goodneſs to believe that the univerſal terms of ſalvation are knowable by

the means of one order of men alone, and that they continue to be so even after they have been published to all nations. Some of your directors will tell you, that whilst CHRIST was on earth, the apostles were the church; that he was the bishop of it; that afterwards the admission of men into this order was approved, and confirmed by visions and other divine manifestations; and that these wonderful proofs of God's interposition at the ordinations, and consecrations of presbyters, and bishops, lasted, even in the time of St. CYPRIAN, that is, in the middle of the third century. It is pity that they lasted no longer, for the ho-

nor of the church, and for the conviction of those who do not sufficiently reverence the religious society. It were to be wished perhaps, that some of the secrets of electricity were improved enough to be piously, and usefully applied to this purpose. If we beheld a shecinah, or divine presence, like the flame of a taper, on the heads of those who receive the imposition of hands, we might believe that they receive the Holy Ghost at the same time. But as we have no reason to believe what superstitious, credulous, or lying men, such as CYPRIAN himself was, reported formerly, that they might establish the proud pretensions

of the clergy; so we have no reason to believe that five men of this order have any more of the divine Spirit in our time, after they are ordained, than they had before. It would be a farce to provoke laughter, if there was no suspicion of prophanation in it, to see them gravely lay hands on one another, and bid one another receive the Holy Ghost.

WILL you tell me finally, in opposition to what has been said, and that you may anticipate what remains to be said, that laymen are not only unauthorised, but quite unequal, without the assistance of divines, to the task I propose? If you do

I sh[illegible]

I shall make no scruple to tell you, in return, that laymen may be, if they please, in every respect as fit, and are in one important respect more fit, than divines, to go through this examination, and to judge for themselves upon it. We say that the scriptures, concerning the divine authenticity of which all the professors of christianity agree, are the sole criterion of christianity. You add tradition, concerning which there may be, and there is much dispute. We have then a certain invariable rule, whenever the scriptures speak plainly. Whenever they do not speak so, we have this comfortable assurance, that doctrines, which no body

underſtands, are revealed to no body, and are therefore impro-per objects of human inquiry. We know too, that if we re-ceive the explanations and com-mentaries of theſe dark ſay-ings from the clergy, we take the greateſt part of our reli-gion from the word of man, not from the word of God. Tradition indeed, however de-rived, is not to be totally re-jected; for, if it was, how came the canon of the ſcriptures, e-ven of the goſpels, to be fix-ed? How was it conveyed down to us? Traditions of ge-neral facts, and general propo-ſitions plain and uniform, may be of ſome authority and uſe. But particular, anecdotical tra-ditions

ditions, whoſe original authority is unknown, or juſtly ſuſpicious, and that have acquired only an appearance of generality, and notoriety, becauſe they have been frequently, and boldly repeated from age to age, deſerve no more regard, than doctrines evidently added to the ſcriptures, under pretence of explaining, and commenting them, by men as fallible as ourſelves. We may receive the ſcriptures, and be perſuaded of their authenticity on the faith of eccleſiaſtical tradition; but it ſeems to me, that we may reject, at the ſame time, all the artificial theology which has been raiſed on theſe ſcriptures by doctors of the church, with

as much right, as they receive the Old Teſtament on the authority of jewiſh ſcribes and doctors, whilſt they reject the oral law, and all rabinical literature.

He who examines on ſuch principles as theſe, which are conformable to truth and reaſon, may lay aſide at once the immenſe volumes of fathers, and councils, of ſchoolmen, caſuiſts, and controverſial writers, which have perplexed the world ſo long. Natural religion will be to ſuch a man no longer intricate; revealed religion will be no longer myſterious, nor the word of God equivocal. Clearneſs and preciſion

cision are two great excellencies of human laws. How much more should we expect to find them in the law of God? They have been banished from thence by artificial theology; and he who is desirous to find them must banish the professors of it from his councils, instead of consulting them. He must seek for genuine christianity with that simplicity of spirit, with which it is taught in the gospel by CHRIST himself. He must do the very reverse of what has been done by the persons you advise him to consult.

You see that I have said what has been said, on a supposition

tion, that, however obſcure theology may be, the chriſtian religion is extremely plain, and requires no great learning, nor deep meditation to develope it. But, if it was not ſo plain, if both theſe were neceſſary to develope it, is great learning the monopoly of the clergy ſince the reſurrection of letters, as a little learning was before that aera? Is deep meditation, and juſtneſs of reaſoning confined to men of that order by a peculiar and excluſive privilege? In ſhort, and to aſk a queſtion which experience will decide, have theſe men, who boaſt that they are appointed by God "to "be the interpreters of his ſe-"cret will, to repreſent his per-

"person, and to anſwer in his "name, as it were, out of the "ſanctuary*;" have theſe men, I ſay, been able, in more than ſeventeen centuries, to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of revealed religion, for natural religion never wanted their help, among the civil ſocieties of chriſtians, or even in their own? They do not ſeem to have aimed at this deſirable end. Divided as they have always been, they have always ſtudied in order to believe §, and to take upon truſt, or to find matter of diſcourſe,

* Cal Inſ. L iv. c. 3.

N. B. I chuſe to borrow theſe expreſſions from Calvin, in order to ſhew how much they aſcribe, who are ſuppoſed to aſcribe the leaſt, to this order.

§ Bacon's Eſſays.

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or to contradict and confute; but never to consider impartially, nor to use a free judgment. On the contrary, they who have attempted to use this freedom of judgment have been constantly, and cruelly persecuted by them.

The first steps towards the establishment of artificial theology, which has passed for christianity ever since, were enthusiastical. They were not heretics alone, who delighted in wild allegories, and the pompous jargon of mystery: they were the orthodox fathers of the first ages; they were the disciples of the apostles, or the scholars of their disciples: for the

the truth of which I may appeal to the epiſtles, and other writings of theſe men that are extant, to thoſe of CLEMENS, of IGNATIUS, or of IRENAEUS, for inſtance; and to the viſions of HERMES, that have ſo near a reſemblance to the productions of BUNYAN.

THE next ſteps of the ſame kind were rhetorical. They were made by men who declaimed much, and reaſoned ill, but who impoſed on the imaginations of others by the heat of their own, by their hyperboles, their exaggerations, the acrimony of their ſtyle, and their violent invectives. Such were the CHRYSOSTOMS the JEROMS, an

an HILARIUS, a CYRIL, and moſt of the fathers.

THE laſt of the ſteps I ſhall mention were logical: and theſe were made very opportunely, and very advantageouſly for the church, and for artificial theology. Abſurdity in ſpeculation, and ſuperſtition in practice, had been cultivated ſo long, and were become ſo groſs, that men began to ſee through the veils that had been thrown over them, as ignorant as thoſe ages were. Then the ſchoolmen aroſe. I need not diſplay their character, it is enough known. This only I will ſay, that, having very few materials of knowledge, and much

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ſubtilty of wit, they wrought up ſyſtems of fancy on the little they knew; and invented an art, by the help of ARISTOTLE, not of enlarging, but of puzzling knowledge with technical terms, with definitions, diſtinctions, and ſyllogiſms merely verbal: they taught what they could not explain; evaded what they could not anſwer; and he who had the moſt ſkill in this art might put to ſilence, when it came into general uſe, the man who was conſciouſly certain that he had truth and reaſon on his ſide.

THE authority of the ſchools laſted till the reſurrection of letters. But as ſoon as real know-

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ledge was enlarged, and the conduct of the underſtanding better underſtood, it fell into contempt. The advocates of artificial theology have had, ſince that time, a very hard taſk. They have been obliged to defend in the light what was imposed in the dark, and to acquire knowledge to juſtify ignorance. They were drawn to it with reluctancy. But learning, that grew up among the laity, and controverſies with one another, made this unavoidable, which was not eligible on the principles of eccleſiaſtical policy. They have done, with theſe new arms, all that great parts, great pains, and great zeal could do under ſuch diſadvantages; and

we may apply to this order, on this occasion, "Si Pergama dextra," etc. But their Troy cannot be defended; irreparable breaches have been made in it. They have improved in learning and knowledge: but this improvement has been general, and as remarkable at least among the laity, as among the clergy. Besides which, it must be owned that the former have had in this respect a sort of indirect obligation to the latter; for, whilst these men have searched into antiquity, have improved criticism, and almost exhausted subtilty, they have furnished so many arms the more to such of the others, as do not submit implicitly to them, but

examine and judge for themselves. By refuting one another when they differ, they have made it no hard matter to refute them all when they agree: and, I believe, there are few books written to propagate, or defend the received notions of artificial theology, which may not be refuted by the books themselves. I conclude on the whole, that laymen have, or need to have, no want of the clergy in examining and analysing the religion they profess.

But I said that they are in one important respect more fit to go through this examination without the help of divines, than with it. A layman, who seeks

ſeeks the truth, may fall into error: but as he can have no intereſt to deceive himſelf, ſo he has none of profeſſion to bias his private judgment, any more than to engage him to deceive others. Now the clergyman lies ſtrongly under this influence in every communion. How indeed ſhould it be otherwiſe? Theology is become one of thoſe ſciences which SENECA calls "ſcientiae in lucrum exeuntes:" and ſciences, like arts, whoſe object is gain, are, in good Engliſh, trades. Such theology is: and men who could make no fortune, except the loweſt, in any other, make often the higheſt in this: for the proof of which aſſertion I might pro-

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duce ſome ſignal inſtances among my lords the biſhops. The conſequence has been uniform; for how ready ſoever the tradeſmen of one church are to expoſe the falſe wares, that is, the errors, and abuſes of another, they never admit that there are any in their own: and he who admitted this, in ſome particular inſtance, would be driven out of the eccleſiaſtical company, as a falſe brother, and one who ſpoiled the trade.

Thus it comes to paſs that new churches may be eſtabliſhed by the diſſentions, but that old ones cannot be reformed by the concurrence, of the clergy. There is no compoſition

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to be made with this order of men. He, who does not believe all they teach in every communion, is reputed nearly as criminal, as he who believes no part of it. He who cannot assent to the athanasian creed, of which archbishop TILLOTSON said, as I have heard, that he wished we were well rid, would receive no better quarter, than an atheist, from the generality of the clergy. What recourse now has a man who cannot be thus implicit? Some have run into scepticism, some into atheism, and, for fear of being imposed on by others, have imposed on themselves. The way to avoid these extremes is that, which has been chalked out in

this introduction. We may think freely, without thinking as licentiously as divines do when they raise a system of imagination on true foundations; or as sceptics do when they renounce all knowledge; or as atheists do when they attempt to demolish the foundations of all religion, and reject demonstration. As we think for ourselves, we may keep our thoughts to ourselves, or communicate them with a due reserve, and in such a manner only, as it may be done without offending the laws of our country, and disturbing the public peace.

I CANNOT conclude my discourse on this occasion better, than

than by putting you in mind of a paſſage you quoted to me once, with great applauſe, from a ſermon of FOSTER, and to this effect: "Where myſtery "begins, religion ends." The apophthegm pleaſed me much: and I was glad to hear ſuch a truth from any pulpit, ſince it ſhews an inclination, at leaſt, to purify chriſtianity from the leaven of artificial theology, which conſiſts principally in making things, that are very plain, myſterious; and in pretending to make things, that are impenetrably myſterious, very plain. If you continue ſtill of the ſame mind, I ſhall have no excuſe to make to you for what I have written, and ſhall write. Our opinions

opinions coincide. If you have changed your mind, think again, and examine further. You will find that it is the modeſt, not the preſumptuous enquirer, who makes a real, and ſafe progreſs in the diſcovery of divine truths. One follows nature, and nature's God, that is, he follows God in his works, and in his word; nor preſumes to go further, by metaphyſical and theological commentaries of his own invention, than the two texts, if I may uſe this expreſſion, carry him very evidently. They who have done otherwiſe, and have affected to diſcover, by a ſuppoſed ſcience derived from tradition, or taught in the ſchools, more, than they

who

who have not ſuch ſcience can diſcover, concerning the nature, phyſical and moral, of the Supreme Being, and concerning the ſecrets of his providence, have been either enthuſiaſts, or knaves, or elſe of that numerous tribe who reaſon well very often; but reaſon always on ſome arbitrary ſuppoſition.

MUCH of this character belonged to the heathen divines; and it is, in all it's parts, peculiarly that of the antient fathers, and modern doctors of the chriſtian church. The former had reaſon, but no revelation, to guide them; and tho reaſon be always one, we cannot wonder that different prejudices, and different tempers

tempers of imagination warped it in them, on ſuch ſubjects as theſe, and produced all the extravagancies of their theology. The latter had not the excuſe of human frailty to make in mitigation of their preſumption. On the contrary, the conſideration of this frailty, inſeparable from their nature, aggravated their preſumption. They had a much ſurer criterion, than human reaſon; they had divine reaſon, and the word of God to guide them, and to limit their enquiries. How came they to go beyond this criterion? Many of the firſt preachers were led into it becauſe they preached or writ before there was any ſuch criterion eſtabliſh-

ed, in the acceptance of which they all agreed; because they preached or writ, in the mean time, on the faith of tradition, and on a confidence that they were persons extraordinarily gifted. Other reasons succeeded these. Skill in languages, not the gift of tongues, some knowledge of the jewish cabala, and some of heathen philosophy, of PLATO's especially, made them presume to comment, and under that pretence to enlarge the system of christianity, with as much license, as they could have taken if the word of man, instead of the word of God, had been concerned, and they had commented the civil, not the divine law. They did this so

copiously,

copiously, that, to give one instance of it, the exposition of St. MATTHEW's gospel took up ninety homelies, and that of St. JOHN's eighty seven, in the works of CHRYSOSTOM: which puts me in mind of a puritanical parson *, who, if I mistake not, for I have never looked into the folio since I was a boy and condemned sometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm.

Now all these men, both heathens and christians, appeared gigantic forms through the false medium of imagination, and

* Dr. MANTON.

habitual

habitual prejudice; but were, in truth, as arrant dwarfs in the knowledge to which they pretended, as you and I and all the sons of ADAM. The former, however, deserved some excuse; the latter none. The former made a very ill use of their reason, no doubt, when they presume to dogmatise about the divine nature; but they deceived no body. What they taught, they taught on their own authority, which every other man was at liberty to receive, or reject, as he approved or disapproved the doctrine. Christians, on the other hand, made a very ill use of revelation and reason both. Instead of employing the superior princi-

ple to direct and confine the inferior, they employed it to sanctify all, that wild imagination, the passions, and the interests of the ecclesiastical order suggested. This abuse of revelation was so scandalous, that whilst they were building up a system of religion, under the name of christianity, every one, who sought to signalise himself in the enterprise, and they were multitudes, dragged the scriptures to his opinion by different interpretations, paraphrases, comments. ARIUS and NESTORIUS, both pretended that they had it on their sides: ATHANASIUS and CYRIL on theirs. They rendered the word of God so dubious, that it ceased

to be a criterion; and they had recourse to another, to councils and the decrees of councils. He must be very ignorant in ecclesiastical antiquity, who does not know by what intrigues of the contending factions, for such they were, and of the worst kind, these decrees were obtained: and yet, an opinion prevailing that the Holy Ghost, the same divine spirit who dictated the scriptures, presided in these assemblies and dictated their decrees, their decrees passed for infallible decisions; and sanctified, little by little, much of the superstition, the nonsense, and even the blasphemy, which the fathers taught, and all the usurpations of the church. This

opinion prevailed, and influenced the minds of men so powerfully, and so long, that ERASMUS, who owns, in one of his letters, that the writings of OECOLAMPADIUS against transubstantiation seemed sufficient to seduce even the elect, "ut seduci "posse videantur etiam electi," declares in another, that nothing hindered him from embracing the doctrine of OECOLAMPADIUS, but the consent of the church to the other doctrine; "nisi "obstaret consensus ecclesiae." Thus artificial theology rose on the demolitions, not on the foundations, of christianity; was incorporated into it, and became a principal part of it. How much it becomes a good christian

ſtian to diſtinguiſh them, in his private thoughts at leaſt, and how unfit even the greateſt, the moſt moderate, and the leaſt ambitious of the eccleſiaſtical order are to aſſiſt us in making this diſtinction, I have endeavoured to ſhew you by reaſon, and by example.

It remains then, that we apply ourſelves to the ſtudy of the firſt philoſophy without any other guides, than the works, and the word of God. In natural religion the clergy are unneceſſary, in revealed they are dangerous guides.

FINIS.